

December, 1927

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# Labor Age

The National Monthly

## THE FINISH FIGHT BEGINS

1. Pittsburgh Sees Action
2. A. F. of L. vs. I. R. T.
3. Traction Tussle Becomes National Battle

## Going Over To the Other Side

Budenz Sues A Labor Spy

Red Cap's Difficulties

Can We Organize the Flapper?

"Unionism Is Communism"

Burying "Prosperity"

"Loyalty"-Breeding Devices



\$2.50 per Year

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The National Monthly

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Presenting all the facts about American labor—Believing that the goal of the American labor movement lies in industry for service, with workers' control.



## CONTENTS:

	Page
THE FINISH FIGHT BEGINS.....	1
PITTSBURGH SEES ACTION.....	Art Shields 2
A. F. OF L. VS. I. R. T. ....	Esther Lowell 3
TRACTION TUSSLE BECOMES NATIONAL BATTLE	
	Patrick L. Quinlan 5
"LOYALTY"—BREEDING DEVICES.....	Robert W. Dunn 6
GOING OVER TO THE OTHER SIDE.....	A. J. Muste 9
RED CAP'S DIFFICULTIES.....	Allen S. A. Titley 12
I SUE A LABOR SPY.....	Louis F. Budenz 15
CAN WE ORGANIZE THE FLAPPER?..	Fannia M. Cohn 18
PENSIONS FOR AGED WORKERS.....	Abraham Epstein 20
A LABOR INJUNCTION DEFEATED..	Kathryn Eastham 29

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# Labor Age

The National Monthly

## The Finish Fight Begins

*Revolt or Slavery*



**W**E stand at the close of this year, at the cross-roads of American Labor's fight for freedom. President William Green of the American Federation of Labor has thrown down the gauntlet to Yellow Doggery, the Czaristic injunction and the company union in the I. R. T. case in New York. It becomes a fight to the finish.

At the beginning of 1927, we declared that this year would see the big industrial issues come to a head. It has happened just as we have said.

Under the hypocritical mantles of "prosperity" and "industrial democracy," the anti-union employing forces moved forward to fix a legal and social status on the workers that meant Involuntary Servitude. Either the workers would submit and become helots—or they would revolt.

Hand in hand with the I. R. T. involuntary servitude attempt goes the same effort to fasten chains on the

miners. Over in the Pittsburgh district Judge Schoonmaker's ukase rules, and the Pennsylvania Cheka spread terrorism among the inhabitants of the Eastern section of that state.

With Boubonesque stupidity, the anti-union employers shout for further power to merge and ally themselves in trade associations, while stamping out the collective rights of the workers. Our cartoon above is taken from the October "Nation's Business," organ of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, and accompanies a vigorous plea for closer and closer unity of the employing interests.

Labor says that the right to voluntary association for the workers cannot be crushed by any power. The articles in this issue will give you a hint of what is taking place, and also will afford you inspiration as well as information for the task ahead of all of us.

# Pittsburgh Sees Action

*Re-enforcements for Entrenched Miners*

By ART SHIELDS

IT'S a short way from synthetic moonlight to synthetic moonshine; no further than from Andrew Mellon to his thugs. The first for Pittsburgh millionaires; the second for the Coal and Iron police in the mine towns. It's all atmosphere, with the difference in price that befits the difference in rank in the feudal society of that region.

Synthetic moonlight lit the wedding party that Andrew Mellon helped his brother Richard to throw for the latter's daughter, Miss Sarah Cordelia Mellon, one of the Princesses of Pittsburgh Coal and American Aluminum. All the papers went wild at the weird lighting system that gave an Arabian Nights glow to the two million dollar party that hitched the jeweled girl to a glittering prince of stocks and bonds in a fairyland pavilion.

Strikers living in rags in long pineboard barracks on union rations of flour, bacon and potatoes read the story of the day and got its meaning. Andy could pay them if he would, but he doesn't give a damn. Delegates to the national conference of the American Federation of Labor which had just ended its sessions understood the challenge likewise. Andy would rather toss the money into the moonlight than pay the union rates.

## Suppress News

That national conference got little publicity from the papers of the city of smoke and steel—less than the Mellon wedding party. What Mellon doesn't like isn't news in Pittsburgh. Even the Scripps-Howard paper went slow on the story, though it found space recently to serialize Ida Tarbell's adulatory Life of Elbert Gary, the babbitt chairman of steel. But the conference was the most important labor gathering of the winter. It laid the plans for a fight that can bring Mellon to terms if the recommendations are carried out. It requisitioned reinforcements for the hard-pressed hundred thousand strikers that can win a smashing victory if the labor movement brings in organizers and provisions as ordered.

There was a national labor emergency; the miners in the front line trenches in three states were facing defeat unless help came quickly. Only a national labor emergency could have brought the representatives of 52 national and international unions away from the ordinary affairs to Pittsburgh, along with the whole executive board of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, many men from city central bodies of that state, and a number of unofficially attending representatives of local miners' unions. But delegates from the East and the West were there, asbestos and bakery workers, and down along the alphabetical list to typographical unionists and wall paper craftsmen. Old timers. The sharp wrinkled features of Andrew Furuseth of the seamen; "Jim" Maurer's sturdy frame; E. J. Manion of the railroad telegraphers; Arthur Wharton of the machinists; Max Zuckerman and Morris Sigman from the needle trades; most of the build-

ing trades' chiefs, and the leaders of many other international unions; Matthew Woll; Dan Tobin, P. J. Noonan, Martin Ryan, Frank Duffy, James Wilson, vice presidents of the A. F. of L. President Green, once a miner, was in the chair.

"The miners' fight is our fight," speaker after speaker said in substance. The same corporations were fighting the miners that were fighting the unions in other industries. How true that is will appear when I tell of the role General Motors Corporation is playing.

## Police Thuggery

The first day of the conference was spent in hearing bulletins from the war front. Vice President Philip Murray of the coal diggers held up to the gaze of the delegates a stack of 219 affidavits of police brutality, and he told individual stories of union men whose faces had been beaten to a pulp with the butt ends of high powered rifles.

Next morning the visitors toured the towns of Pittsburgh Terminal Coal Corporation and Republic Iron & Steel—a labor delegation to darkest Pennsylvania. And, please don't give it away to Judge Schoonmaker,—some spotter probably has already, anyhow—the story is that Secretary James E. Kelley of the Pennsy Federation did some picketing. In defiance of the orders of the Sacred Cow, he asked a scab to quit.

That second afternoon the special committee headed by William Hutcheson of the carpenters' union brought in its report. There were some eight decisions, but I wish to call your attention to the three most important.

There is a kick to those three decisions if they are translated into action. They may become historic. I repeat, they can win this most vital of all labor struggles in America, and turn the open shop tide if they are carried out wholeheartedly.

Look them over:

1. *The miners are advised to defy injunctions.*
2. *The international unions are asked to send organizers to help organize the unorganized.*
3. *A huge war chest is called for, to be raised by the American Federation of Labor, and its affiliated unions.*

These are all fighting issues. A drive into the non-union coal fields in Fayette, Greene, Westmoreland and Somerset counties, and into all the open shop patches that spot the union counties, will put the Mellons, the Schwabs, the Berwinds, the Rockefellers, the Iselins on the defensive and shut off the supplies of outside coal that have been hampering the strikers. It's a big job, of course, but the international unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. constitute a big movement.

Take the fund drive next: Millions of dollars must be raised. The delegates saw children shambling along in their father's shoes; they saw men whose toes were



sticking through the tips; they talked with the mothers in the Russellton barracks whose spirits were stubborn in the fight, but oh, how they wished they could give the children an old-fashioned meal. Millions are needed for food alone. And a half million will be required for new barracks this winter, as whole villages are evicted, Secretary Thomas Kennedy of the miners stated.

Big money, and why not. Three million union men giving a dollar a day each would wake up Mellon. And why not a day's pay each. The A. F. of L. has sent out its first circular letter, as this is written. It should get a huge response.

Organization of the unorganized, and food and clothing. Two big issues. I have been saving the first till now, defiance of injunctions, the one that can make the Sacred Cow—you understand that I mean the courts, I am using Louis Budenz's term—dizzy with impotent rage.

#### Injunctions Challenged

Very definitely the conference called on the miners to disregard injunctions. For years West Virginia has been blanketed by injunctions forbidding even peaceful persuasion; in Indiana County, Pa., a New York Central flunkie on the bench has interdicted union men from attending the same church as scabs and singing hymns appealing to them not to "take our homes and bread away." And in the Pittsburgh region that judge with a name like a schooner of beer (Schoonmaker) has forbidden the union to hire attorneys to appeal eviction cases in the civil courts. The Sacred Cow must be curbed or the union may perish.

The call to defy the injunction is clearly put. After explaining that injunctions are not law but a substitute for the law and the constitution the conference called on the miners as follows:

"We call on them," the report reads, "as fellow citizens, for the continuance of the full observance of the law as prescribed in the American constitution, and to pay no heed to power assumed by those who are unauthorized under the law to limit, circumscribe or repress, their rights as citizens."

The rest is up to the miners—though one delegate suggested the conference lead off that afternoon—but it is significant that this assemblage of the American

Federation of Labor has reverted to the old line policies of Bucks Stove days when Samuel Gompers was ready to go behind the bars, and told an affiliated union to hobble the Sacred Cow—or as one might say, to blow the foam off a glass of Schoonmaker.

\* \* \* \* \*

"The fight of the unions is our fight" as plain as the nose on your face. Railroad workers heard John L. Lewis say that the Pennsylvania Railroad, the New York Central and the Baltimore & Ohio were all in a conspiracy to beat the miners' union.

Metal workers heard Philip Murray tell how General Motors was dictating the open shop policy of the Big Bertha Consumers' mining company. What has General Motors to do with the coal industry, you may ask? She has a lot to do with Bertha Consumers for she buys 600,000 tons of Bertha coal a year. Recently, said Murray, a Mr. Jones, an officer of Bertha Consumers came to his office and said he was anxious to sign the Jacksonville wage agreement; he could pay it and make plenty of money. But the purchasing agent of General Motors had warned him that if he dealt with the union the company would transfer its orders. And the Philadelphia bankers who own most of the Bertha securities had called him on long distance and threatened to throw him out of the company if he recognized the United Mine Workers.

"The miners' fight is our fight"—for the Mellons and the Schwabs, the Morgans and the Rockefellers, the Berwinds and the public utility owners are not merely employers of mine labor, but they and their fellows are the masters of America. Seeing the coal diggers as the front line fighters for the American labor movement, whose union strength has helped to build up the American Federation of Labor, they have marked them for defeat if they can. They want not merely cheaper coal, but cheaper everything else.

So that when the next Princess of Coal and Aluminum is given away to another Prince of Stocks and Bonds more millions can be blown into synthetic moonlight, while their armed retainers, the Coal & Iron police, lap up the synthetic moonshine in the grimy suburbs.

Only—they can't get away with it, with the labor movement defying injunctions, organizing the unorganized and raising an irresistible war chest for the struggle.

## A. F. of L. vs. I. R. T.

### *Labor Rises To the Challenge*

By ESTHER LOWELL

**A**LL of a sudden organized labor's fight against abusive injunctions and against the company unions has been brought to a head in New York. The Interboro Rapid Transit Co. has asked for an injunction which would mean the death of free trade unions if granted.

And the American Federation of Labor executives know it!

Might as well lay a lily on the breast if we don't fight

now, says William Mahon, president of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees. His organization is chiefly challenged by the Interboro injunction, though the whole American Federation of Labor is named as defendant.

Fight now or never, echoes Matthew Woll, American Federation of Labor Vice-president and president of the International Photo-engravers Union.

"Our movement has been a fighting movement," Presi-

## LABOR AGE

dent William Green of the American Federation of Labor told the subway workers in the New York mass meetings—"a fighting movement without the exercise of violence, and we will fearlessly meet this issue and oppose anywhere and at any time encroachments upon the rights of free people."

Each successive injunction hurled against organized labor has been worse than its predecessors. The Pittsburgh Terminal Coal Company obtained a federal injunction within the month that forbids the United Mine Workers of District 5 from fighting its eviction processes in the courts! And of course it prohibits all the ordinary picketing activities incident to any strike, whether of soft coal miners or other workers.

### The Most Devilish

But it remained for James Quackenbush, counsel for the Interboro Rapid Transit Co., to work out the most devilish of injunctions yet devised against labor. For five months Quackenbush has been brewing the fiendish details. For a year and five months, since the subway workers spontaneously kicked the traces of the company union and struck, Quackenbush has been scheming to make their subjection complete.

Although the spontaneous walkout of July, 1926 was not led by the American Federation of Labor, Quackenbush realized that such evident dissatisfaction with the Interboro company union was a big invitation to the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees. And of course the Amalgamated did send in organizers at the request of the beaten company union strike leaders. The July, 1927 flare-up, which looked likely to break into a strike, was blamed directly on the Amalgamated Association by the I. R. T.

Quackenbush prepared his 370-page complaint for the world-beater injunction with meticulous care. When the supreme court ruled that the individual "yellow dog" contract was no good because there was no "consideration" offered the worker for signing, Quackenbush foxily rewrote the Interboro company union provisions and had the subway workers sign new "yellow dog" papers. The great "consideration" he offered the workers was—a promise of employment, but with so many "ifs" and "ands" that even a one-eyed man could see through it. Quackenbush certainly doesn't credit subway workers with a bit of sense.

So now Mr. Quackenbush, after five months' effort, solemnly charges that William Green and nearly fifty other American Federation of Labor officials, "wilfully, maliciously and unlawfully conferred, confederated, combined, agreed and conspired among themselves for the purpose of eliminating and wholly destroying all employee representations plans and so-called 'company unions'." Therefore, Mr. Green and his associates to the total of the 3,000,000 members claimed by unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor should be enjoined from "interfering in any way" with Interboro employees, their "contract" with the I. R. T., and their company union.

### \$130,000 Damages!

And that isn't all!

No indeed! Mr. Quackenbush remembers the Danbury hatters' injunction and damage suit story. He goes

—or tries to go—it one better. The Interboro, with the voice of Quackenbush, asks for \$130,000 damages from the Amalgamated Association and A. F. of L. For what? Why, for gathering and feeding and housing and paying *potential* strike-breakers last July! Mr. Quackenbush and his immediate employer, Mr. Frank Hedley, president of the Interboro, hired "Jim" Waddell, notorious scab-herder in their July scare. Waddell and his gang won't sit in the carbarn barracks playing cards for nothing while waiting a strike, even one that doesn't come off. So the Interboro is trying to collect from the unions.

Yes, it's a serious situation, and labor is rightfully roused over it. Green, Mahon, McGrady and the rest probably had the right idea, too, in going straight to senator-elect Robert Wagner, son of Tammany, for defense counsel. And right again in conferring with Mayor "Jimmie" Walker, who took credit for preventing the strike in July.

After all, New York City owns its subways, even if it does let the Interboro and the B. M. T. run them. And Samuel Untermyer, special transit counsel for the city, thinks the municipal authorities should re-capture the subways. Anyway, Tammany is the strong cat of the town and should be able to help. Local labor officials know how to stroke the cat the right way.

### Union Gain So Far

So far, labor has scored in obtaining a delay of the injunction hearing so that it's case can be prepared; and possibly in winning a new justice to hear the complaint. Judge Delehanty's record I do not know, aside from his granting of a previous injunction to the Interboro against the Consolidated Railroad Workers union. This was the organization the rebelling company union strikers set up in summer 1926 and dissolved when they called in the Amalgamated. But Delehanty stepped aside to allow Judge Wasservogel of the state supreme court, special term, part I, to preside.

Maybe the Interboro is playing a game—trying to provoke a strike to get higher fares. That's a familiar explanation of subway strike threats. It's hard for one on the outside to know. The A. F. of L. leaders reiterate that they do *not* want a strike.

But whatever is going on in the background, the need of subway workers for a free and vigorous trade union is evident. And they are not afraid to show it. A thousand subway workers defied company warnings, company union, yellow dog slips and company spotters to attend the two mass meetings at which Green and other A. F. of L. officials spoke. The workers have shown repeatedly a gallant determination not to be crushed by the company.

There never were a better bunch of devoted strike leaders than the group that led the 1926 walkout. They were company union officials, some of them. They knew they would pay with the loss of their jobs. But they couldn't stand the slavery longer and rebelled. Ed. Lavin, Harry Bark, Jim Walsh and Joseph Phelan, did the best they knew under terrific odds. They knew nothing about strikes—about labor's long struggle for organization. But they were part of it and learned fast. It's their hard pioneering that opened the way for the Amalgamated and the A. F. of L.



# Traction Tussle Becomes National Battle

*Fate of Three Million at Stake*

By PATRICK L. QUINLAN

**I**N writing this article I must hint at the outset that I am laboring under serious difficulties. Not that any important news or information is hidden or held back from the observing public, but that the situation in a national sense may alter or take a new and unforeseen turn and leave my collection of facts a load of loose bricks without cement or mortar and my conclusions dangling in the air.

An ordinary dispute over the right to organize, the age-old question of whether the shop shall be union or non-union, the hoary but hardy injunction, following on the last two, came up in a perfectly natural way and developed along the time-honored lines true to form in every way.

It was not a big state affair; nor was it an interstate matter. No, it was just an ordinary municipal traction row with the subway-elevated magnates grimly holding on to the ancient *laissez faire* doctrine of the last century.

But blind stupidity and cast iron anti-social ignorance, coupled with almost unlimited political power and a docile public, caused the traction lords headed by Menden, president of the Brooklyn-Manhattan Transit, and Frank Hedley, boss of the Interborough Rapid Transit, to fling all caution to the winds and started a fight or fire that may be nation-wide in its consequences and international in its effect.

## Legal Straight Jacket

Drunk with previous easy victories and depending on a docile and forgetful public, the I. R. T. and the B. M. T. applied for an injunction to restrain not only the Amalgamated or Carmen's officers and organizers from "interfering" with their employees—from organizing them into one of their local unions—but also President William Green and the entire American Federation of Labor from the Atlantic to the Pacific from giving moral aid to the Amalgamated. In other words, over three million men and women may be held in a sort of legal straight jacket for all time and restrained from speaking and writing to workers on the subways and elevated railroads of Greater New York.

It is the most drastic and most sweeping injunction application ever made in the history of United States. I can find no parallel for it, outside of the coercion acts passed by an oppressive and foreign parliament to restrain the entire population of Ireland from exercising the right of free speech. I must say the injunction papers have a medieval tang about them.

An ordinary restraining order would have been forgotten in a few weeks and the labor movement would have gone on its way as before in its routine business, through strikes and injunctions, peace conferences and settlements.

But the traction companies have overdone it. They have brought the Labor Movement, official and unofficial, on top of them like a house tumbling around their ears.

A craft fight becomes a class battle, with all the regiments of labor solidly arrayed behind Coleman and Shea and the Amalgamated organizers. A purely municipal affair has become a nation-wide struggle. Greater New York, usually cosmopolitan and scarcely ever looking further west than New Jersey becomes the United States. The clash of battle though fought out in a five hundred foot court room will resound throughout the length and breadth of the land from Brooklyn to Berkeley, and from Mexico to Michigan.

The principles at stake are national. Because of our influence as the largest English-speaking nation, they have also become international. It is certain that the fight will be keenly watched in Great Britain, Canada and Australia, not to count the other important countries and industrial nations.

## What's at Stake

The first principle involved is an ancient one. Shall judges have the power to restrain men and limit them in their constitutional rights, such as no other autocrat or potentate of ancient or modern times ever dreamed of having or exercising?

The second is, shall a state judge have the right to restrain men living in other states? This principle was frowned on most severely by the high court judges of Ireland and England lately.

The third, and I think it is the most important and far reaching, is the right to organize where boss controlled unions and dubious contracts obtain. This will be watched in Britain with an intense feeling almost equal to what we used to say and do before we entered the Great War on the side of the Allies. For in Britain the company union is a burning question, too. There being only one difference and that is a remarkable and significant one. The British company unions are being led and organized by Havelock Wilson, Frank Hodges, the ex-coal mine leader, and a group of social and industrial traitors; while here it is, as its name implies, a "company union" affair organized by company lackies and stoolpigeons.

The question of the company union will be decided, and should the traction magnates win, the A. F. of L. leaders can write *Ichabod* over the doors of their temples and lyceums for all the good, from a social and industrial point of view, their organized units will be. That is to my mind the most serious phase of the fight. The very fate of the A. F. of L. is in the balance. Should the companies win, the trade union movement of Britain, now in a weakened state, will be made to feel the brunt of a mass attack from the capitalists who are out to dilute labor and clip its wings in the political field. Watch the Northcliffe-Rothermere press and their friends in the newspaper field yell with joy, for it will be their signal to make an onslaught on the Socialists and labor parties of Britain and to make an effort to

restore the Liberals and Lloyd George to life and action and power. That it will be used by the employers' associations and big industrialists all over this country as a substantial excuse for declaring war all along the line on labor, starting of company unions and a general attack on the living standards of American workers there can be no doubt.

In other words, the class war now cloaked and hidden will break out in all its old time bitterness, with the employers this time having "allies" and associates organized among their own workers in their own plants.

### The Scab in Glory

The scab, the strikebreaker, the blackleg takes on a new phase. The immoral and anti-social cloak that heretofore covered his cringing carcass is metamorphosed into a cloak of legality, industrial stability and loyalty. He will be able to walk abroad and hold his head erect and turn tables on the old time legitimate class struggle, dues-paying, trade-union man by clashing with him everywhere and even picketing the union meetings.

There is to my mind a touch of Mussolini in the manner in which the Interborough company union men picketed the Lyceum Hall, 86th Street and Third Avenue, New York, while President Green, of the A. F. of L., and President Mahon, with his aides, Coleman, Shea, Fitzpatrick, were addressing the local union of the

Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees on Armistice Day. It had about it a sinister and dangerous aspect. All it needed was a little violence and strong arm work to complete the Fascisti picture. Should Hedley and company get away with that, in the language of the day the union's name will be mud.

Of course, should the union win or get the best end of a compromise it will hearten the cause of unionism everywhere. It will give a set-back to the injunction advocates now so busy. It may mean a judicial consideration for a restriction of the application of the injunction to equity cases only. It may be that the leading lawyers and judges of the country will put a definite limit or boundary to the use of the injunction.

The wholesale abuse of the injunction in Pennsylvania, with the drastic application for its use in New York and Brooklyn, have made it a factor in the coming Presidential campaign. It may mean a repetition of the Roosevelt-Mitchell 1903 campaign episode with Coolidge and Green acting in much the same way in 1927-28.

The New York traction injunction case is fraught with wonderful possibilities. As a phase in the injunction war it is both interesting and dynamic. It is making history something the principal actors in the drama never dreamed of doing and we can safely say never intended doing.

# "Loyalty"-Breeding Devices

*Two Sketches of 1927 Employerdom*

By ROBERT W. DUNN

(Here are two brief sketches of the "loyalty"-breeding which is afoot in our land in this year 1927. They were collected by Mr. Dunn for his book on "Company Unions". They were not included, however, because of the great amount of other data he had on hand. We wish to call your attention again to his book—the first attempt to analyze the company union experiment, from a labor viewpoint. Any one can obtain this book free by sending in a subscription to LABOR AGE, at the full yearly rate.)

### I. COMPANY BOOSTING

**C**OMPANY boosting is a comparatively new phase of "loyalty" stimulation, and seems to have proved very profitable, especially to certain railroad companies. The purpose of the "boosters' club", as it is usually called, is first to get more business for the company. Certain social features may develop as the club continues its work of voluntary, but guided, advertising.

An article in NATION'S BUSINESS last year, entitled "The Santa Fe's 80,000 Salesmen," pictures such an enterprise in operation on the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad. It is estimated that during a period of nine months these voluntary traffic representatives, covering the 12,000 miles of line, have secured for their company passenger and freight business the revenue from which amounted to over \$30,000,000. The idea was originated

in 1924 by the Santa Fe Magazine, a company journal. Not only have the train service men, such as conductors and other brotherhood members, joined in the campaign, but cooks, janitors and porters have participated. Their names are proudly listed in the company's monthly magazine, this honorable mention being their only reward, with the exception of "service pins". Discussing the campaign, an officer of the railroad said:

"Our employees have responded to the spirit of this campaign. They are sold on the Santa Fe and they are sold on the idea of working for more business. They are proud of the Santa Fe and they want their friends and acquaintances to know the superiority of the service which it offers. . . . It follows naturally that after they have boosted the Santa Fe to their friends, they are going to do all in their power to make the Santa Fe superior in every respect."

This railroad incidentally has a very enterprising company union of maintenance of way workers which co-operates in all of this company boosting and booming.

Other lines have organized similar clubs, even those most friendly to the unions such as the New York Central and the Baltimore & Ohio. Indeed the clerks' union on the latter road is said to be particularly keen for the boosting business. Buttons and badges and medals are issued to the workers. Free trips to central points to attend boosters' conventions are arranged. The benefits



to the road have been considerable. Sometimes the regular trade union assists in the boosting, sometimes the company union. A typical Pennsylvania Railroad appeal for this sort of cooperation during the days when the road was fighting the shop-crafts unions was a circular given out with the pay envelopes in Wilmington, Del., urging all workers to do everything possible to get freight and passengers for the road. "Do It Today—Don't Delay" was the conclusion of the appeal.

A sample of boosting on a minor scale, but illustrative of the gratitude that the non-union worker is likely to feel toward a "good boss" in a small paternalistic company, is mentioned in *NATION'S BUSINESS* (October, 1926). A girl's club in a large industrial plant wrote to the customers of the concern on the 75th birthday of the owner:

"If your dealings with him have been pleasant, if he has always sent you good products, maybe you will feel like sending in an order right away to help give him such a birthday as will gratify his honest old heart, for he's a fine man to work for, and we are very fond of him."

Ladies' Auxiliaries of Company Athletic Associations and company unions have also been an important factor in the boosting campaigns. On the Lehigh Valley Railroad the Ladies' Auxiliary of the Shop Crafts Athletic League and the various company unions at the principal railroad shops "have been influential in boosting the railroad and in soliciting business for it." In most cases the name of the employees' organization is simply added to publicity matter paid for and printed by the company. One of these pieces of Lehigh publicity is addressed to "fellow employees". It urges the workers to be loyal to the road, to tell travelers and shippers of its "unexcelled service," to buy coal, food and other merchandise from those who ship over the Lehigh Valley, to urge friends to do the same, to bring pressure to bear on merchants to use the road, and finally to "be saving in your work and time". All this the company tells us "has had a splendid reaction upon the relations of the employees with the management."

The use of the company union journal to boost the company is, of course, a very common practice. The *BULLETIN* of the Shop Employees' Association of the Union Pacific System has inserted a blank, headed "Traffic Tips", to be cut out and mailed in by the shopman who knows of some one who is about to make a trip or ship some freight. The employee gives the name and address of the prospective patron as well as his own name, position and station.

## II. A TELEPHONE COMPANY UNION

**A** PUBLIC utility company of nation-wide importance that has fostered a company union under the wing of management is the New England Telephone & Telegraph Company, affiliated with the American Telephone & Telegraph Company. It developed out of a company-manipulated secession movement from the bona fide Telephone Operators' Department of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. The company association goes under the name of the "International Brotherhood of Telephone Workers." Some outstanding facts to be noted in connection with this organization were given by Julia S. O'Connor,

president of the A. F. of L. union, in an article in the *AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST*, May, 1926, and in a subsequent letter to the writer. In brief, they are as follows:

1. The secession union was entirely a company-engineered manœuvre to crush the real union. It grew out of a broken strike and wholesale blacklisting and discrimination.

2. The company union has never shown any signs of integrity as a labor union, and has been completely subservient to the company. There are even no contractual relations between the company and the "brotherhood" except a flimsy verbal understanding, and even this the company violates at will.

3. The leaders in the company union have all been rewarded with very soft berths with the company, some of them paying as high as \$7,500 a year.

4. The hand-picked committees of the "brotherhood", established in the telephone exchanges, confine their activities to beach outings, "dressmaking classes, ukelele instruction, and such tidbits of the new psychology." However, Julia O'Connor adds: "It would be unjust to deny that these committees have wrestled with great industrial issues. It is a matter of record that they once brought about the addition of a water-bottle to an exchange, and on another soul-stirring occasion succeeded in having a dirty electric-light globe washed!"

5. The telephone operators, since the advent of this company association, have lost many of the conditions achieved by the real union through years of effort: "seniority ignored here, desirable hours assignment lopped off there. They have lost immeasurably more than that—they have lost the sense of dignity of their labor; they have arrested their industrial development; they have surrendered their right to a creative and genuine participation in the industry to which they give life." And furthermore, "During over two years of operation, whatever revision of conditions has taken place has been a revision downward."

6. This is the record of this company union as summed up by Miss O'Connor: "It has destroyed human values; it has degenerated the quality of service; it has blighted public relations; it is responsible for industrial waste."

Further light on telephone company unionism in general is shed by E. R. Burton in *EMPLOYEE REPRESENTATION*, a book on company unions. Writing of the importance of securing managerial solidarity on questions arising in company union conferences, he cites a vice-president of the American Telephone & Telegraph Company who urges careful company direction of the conferences. A uniform interpretation of company policy is hammered into the management representatives who participate in the conferences with the employee representatives. What appears to be a virtual caucus is held in advance to decide just what problems shall be discussed in the joint conferences with the employees and how they shall be handled by the appointed representatives of management. On the other hand, the workers' representatives are without assistance of any sort and appear in the conferences without previous meetings or caucuses of any kind whatsoever. This is the "quality" of joint dealing as practiced by a great monopolistic telephone corporation.

# Hypocrisy—Handmaiden of Injustice

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SATURDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 29, 1927.

19

**"BE FAIR" THE SLOGAN OF AN INDIANAPOLIS INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION  
WHOSE 3,000 MEMBERS WORK AND PLAY TOGETHER IN FULL FELLOWSHIP**

Employees' Mutual Benefit Association of the Real Silk Hosiery Mills an Unusual Organization That Is Attracting the Attention of Industrialists Who Seek to Learn Its Methods—An Executive Board of Eight, Controlling Factor, Representing Employees and Employers.

(By William Brockwell)

THREE THOUSAND millworkers of Indianapolis have established a record for self-regulation and adjustment of grievances that is attracting attention throughout industrial America. Almost daily investigators representing other industries come to Indianapolis to observe how the employees of the Real Silk Hosiery Mills, through their Employees' Mutual Benefit Association, are working for and with each other in a fellowship that formerly was regarded as impossible of realization.

All Indianapolis will recall a parade that passed through the downtown district in August. Three thousand Real Silks, riding in gayly bedecked automobiles and trucks, tied up traffic for more than an hour as they went singing, laughing, shouting on their way to Broad Ripple park for a day's outing. The sight was a revelation to the rest of the city. Each car carried banners and placards bearing the significant letters, "C. R. S. A." Oddly enough, Indianapolis had to get an interpretation of the letters, for perhaps no similar organization in the city operates more quietly and more effectively than the Employees' Mutual Benefit Association.

The most notable thing about the C. R. S. A. is that it has been operating for five years and has never had a single strike or a single day's stoppage of work. The organization is a secret society, its members are sworn to secrecy, and its affairs are conducted in the strictest confidence.

It is the only organization of its kind in the city, and it is the only one that has been successful in its efforts to improve the conditions of its members.



Employees' Mutual Benefit Association of the Real Silk Hosiery Mills. The association is a secret society, its members are sworn to secrecy, and its affairs are conducted in the strictest confidence. The association is a secret society, its members are sworn to secrecy, and its affairs are conducted in the strictest confidence. The association is a secret society, its members are sworn to secrecy, and its affairs are conducted in the strictest confidence.

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Wages Are Fixed by Executive Board. The latter's decision always is regarded as final. The employee is paid "straight" from the Real Silk Hosiery Mills without justice. Occasionally, an employee is found who has a good thing and a bad thing. The employee is paid "straight" from the Real Silk Hosiery Mills without justice. Occasionally, an employee is found who has a good thing and a bad thing.

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PAIRING AND INSPECTING HOSEY.

The Real Silk Hosiery Mills. The association is a secret society, its members are sworn to secrecy, and its affairs are conducted in the strictest confidence. The association is a secret society, its members are sworn to secrecy, and its affairs are conducted in the strictest confidence.

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Corporations may not have souls, but some of them have guilty consciences. That is the peculiar mental condition now disclosed by the Real Silk Hosiery Mills. Anticipating the church investigation to which they had agreed, they inspired the above article in Indianapolis News describing Real Silk as a new heaven. The author said nothing about the Yellow Dog contract, labor spies and discharge of men for being suspected of standing up for freedom.



# Going Over To the Other Side

*Continuing Brookwood's Pages*

By A. J. MUSTE

**I**N EUROPEAN countries, the rule is that a man who is born in the working class stays there all his life; furthermore, the chances are that his children in turn will live and die, as they are born, in the working class. In the United States, with vast, undeveloped resources on the one hand, and with no such tradition of class distinction on the other, that has not, until recently at least, been the case. There are not so many messenger boys who become presidents of banks nor so many floor sweepers who become heads of the corporation as the "success" magazines would have us believe. But there have been enough cases of this sort to make a tremendous difference at many points. It is not so easy to organize people into unions who think that they are soon going to graduate out of industry, even though few of them actually do, and on the other hand, unions frequently suffer because some of their most capable people leave and "go over to the other side."

For the purpose of our discussion it would be best to divide the latter into two groups. On the one hand, there are the workers and the children of workers who get on the other side by a process of promotion—a craftsman becomes a foreman in his shop, presently a superintendent perhaps; a young worker shows technical ability, is given an opportunity to get a higher education and becomes a technician, executive, or employer. On the other hand, there are those who may be said to "sell out," people who have been leaders of the workers in their struggles against the employers and who then become leaders of the employers in their struggle against the workers, or even perhaps work secretly for the employers while serving in positions of trust in the unions.

## **Attitude of Managers**

As to the first group, even if it were considered desirable to stop workers and workers' children moving up into technical and managerial jobs, we could not do so under American conditions. It is the part of wisdom to accept the situation and see how it can be handled. The following suggestions have been voiced in discussion of the subject:

1. There are cases of former union men becoming executives or employers and then being viciously anti-union in their attitude; on the other hand, there are not a few cases of men in such positions who retain their belief in trade unionism, remain loyal to many of its fundamental concepts and "deal fairly" with unions, and in specific situations may be of very great help to the labor movement. Sometimes doubtless this difference is a matter of individual temperament. Some people "cannot stand prosperity," have been perhaps so repressed and bossed in their infancy that they have to "take it out" on the other fellow as soon as they have a chance. But perhaps we are not confronted with a situation about which nothing at all can be done. For one thing, suppose that our

homes and our schools taught children from infancy the truth about the rise of the labor movement, the place of the union in society and the concrete achievements of the movement, instead of ignoring these things or disseminating downright falsehoods about them, is it not likely that such early education would bear fruit in later years, even among those who ceased to be manual workers? Anti-labor homes and anti-labor schools will certainly produce anti-labor people. Then, too, there are cases where unions pay no attention to young workers in the trade, give little opportunity to the younger members to participate in union activities, unions that are dishonestly or autocratically conducted, unions whose meetings are dull and stupid, unions that spend their time and energy in internal squabbles instead of constructive activity for the workers, unions that have grown lazy. Naturally, people do not stay in such unions any longer than they have to, and once out retain no kindly feelings for the movement. Where such conditions exist, remedying them may be expected to have some effect in retaining the loyalty of former members and even getting help from them in labor struggles.

## **Foremen in Unions**

2. It has been suggested that in some instances union rules and practices might be changed so as to keep in the union persons promoted to be "straw bosses," "overseers, foremen; in other words, people in the lower supervisory and managerial positions. Probably conditions vary so greatly in different parts of the country, in different industries, and even in different shops in the same industry, that it would be absurd to try to lay down any fixed rules in this matter. At some point a man who has supervisory functions definitely leaves the workers' side and goes to the side of the employers; otherwise, of course, we might as well dispense with trade unions and all join company unions. Just where the line is, however, it is not easy to say. Obviously, however, many foremen are just as much wage earners as the people who work under them. Often they get very little additional out their jobs except the glow of self-importance that comes from bossing the other fellow. Now if such people are not permitted to remain in the union, are, so to speak, pushed over on the employers' side, it is only natural that they begin to get an employer's psychology. On the other hand, if they stayed in the union, there might be some danger that they would report about the happenings at meetings to the employer. But as American employers seem to get pretty full reports about union activities anyway, this does not seem to be a very big item, while the fact that such overseers could be called to account for their actions at union meetings as well as by the employer might have a very decided effect in making them watch their step.

There are in fact unions that definitely require persons in such positions to retain their membership in the union. There have also been efforts from time to time to organize unions of yardmasters on the railroads, for example, of foremen in government employ or private concerns. There are cases here and there of organizations of such men starting out to be merely recreational or benevolent in character and gradually taking on real trade union functions of bargaining with employers about wages, hours and conditions. Certainly employers are all the time trying by schemes of various sorts to bind the men in these ranks to their interests, and the labor movement can well afford to give some thought to the problem of keeping these men who have come out of the working class and are still, in spite of appearances to the contrary, wage-earners, loyal to labor.

3. Of great interest in this same connection is the tendency on the part of engineers and technical men of various sorts to organize themselves into trade unions. Thus we have large and fairly aggressive regularly chartered unions of technical men in the employ of our two greatest cities, New York and Chicago. In the past, these men on graduating from college and coming into white collar jobs, have felt above the workers, and usually have been definitely hostile to organized labor. As their numbers multiplied, however, and as many of them have to content themselves with routine jobs in great corporations, they are beginning to realize that they too are essentially wage-earners, and that they are helpless so long as they act as individuals and fail to combine not merely in order to discuss technical problems, but in order to bargain with employers for such basic material things as wages and conditions of work. These men, if organized and imbued with a labor psychology can be of great assistance to labor today, and if labor is ever to be in control of industry, it will of course require their services and support.

### Selling Out

We have a different problem presented to us, however, in the second group of cases to which we referred at the beginning, those who may be said to "sell out" either by working secretly for the bosses while keeping their place in the unions, or by going into the service of employers' associations and leading them in their struggle against their former fellow workers in the labor movement. A few brief observations on this problem must suffice.

1. America is the only country in the world where the industrial spy is a serious factor in the trade union struggle. Incidentally that is something which those who sweetly assure us that there is no such thing as a class struggle in America and that it is unchristian or Bolshevik or something like that to talk about it, might rightly be called upon to explain. If there isn't any war on, why these armies of spies, something we otherwise always associate with war? On the other hand, it would be childish to assume that the existence of this evil indicates that Americans individually are of inferior moral caliber, that they take naturally to low down activities like spying. One proposition may be safely laid down, namely, that so long as government permits these private detective agencies to operate, and permits the arm-

ing of private guards furnished by these agencies during strikes, employers will be willing to spend money in order to get the unfair advantage in the struggle which this involves, and in turn there are bound to be workers who yield to the temptation to take this money. Exposing individual spies is useful as a form of agitation, but will not go far toward overcoming the evil itself. So long as we have legislatures that can get excited about prohibition or anti-prohibition, but cannot be stirred to the faintest interest in the activities of private armies operated within the state against workers who are citizens of the state, so long as labor remains as weak at many points as it is in the United States, this evil will continue to be with us. (Those who are interested in this subject should read R. W. Dunn's book on Company Unions with a foreword by Louis F. Budenz, Editor of LABOR AGE, published by the Vanguard Press.)

### Getting Rich Quickly

2. In considering both the spies and the men who openly take positions with the other side, we must call attention once more to certain elements in American life and psychology that profoundly influence many of our institutions. We live in a country that has vast natural resources, that for long had a frontier beyond which lay enormous stretches of unoccupied land, that was favorably situated to take advantage of modern inventions and discoveries, a country where accordingly money was to be made, where it was possible for a good many to get rich quick, to get rich as a result of speculation, luck, cleverness, rather than by slow, plodding work. Now, although there were always many to whom life meant hard, cruel toil and poverty, and many more who by hard work made only a comfortable living at best, nevertheless, the rich and quick rewards that fell into the hands of some who rose to the top and dominated the rest, tended to create a speculators', gamblers', get-rich-quick psychology all the day down the line, tended to make everybody excited about "results" and indifferent as to the means by which these results were achieved. So, among the workers if a man makes good, if he gets there, if he "cops the money," even spying and selling out are not regarded as such dastardly crimes as they would be and are in civilizations where other conditions prevail.

3. Important also is a factor mentioned at the very beginning of this article. For centuries class lines in Europe have been very closely drawn and people have lived and died in the class in which they were born. In such conditions if a man does pass into another class it is a tremendously big event, everybody knows about it, notices it. Actually to leave the employ of a workers' organization under such conditions, and to enter the employ of an organization engaged in fighting against these workers becomes practically impossible. In America, however, class lines have not been thus rigidly drawn. There are all the time people who rise from obscure and humble positions to places of wealth and influence, people who emigrate from one social group to another. In such circumstances the passing of a labor leader to the other side is much less of an event, less of an abnormality, and except where there seems to be a direct



## BROOKWOOD'S "YOUTH" INSTITUTE

### A Worth While Winter Innovation

**I**NTEREST aroused by Brookwood's successful Summer Institutes has created a demand for a Winter Institute. As a result, Brookwood Labor College has arranged a two-day Institute on December 30 and 31, at which the general subject "Youth and the Labor Movement" will be discussed. Of particular interest will be the question, "How to Organize Young Workers". Methods of retaining the interest and enlisting the activity of young people as well as Apprenticeship Regulations and Training will also be considered.

A. J. Muste, chairman of Brookwood's faculty, has been telling *LABOR AGE* readers that the Youth must be won for Organized Labor if power is to be won and kept. This idea has appealed to the imagination of a number of active labor men, who are going to Brookwood to give the conference the benefit of their experiences along these lines.

Among those who are announced to lead and participate in the discussions are:

Tom Tippet of Brookwood, formerly educational director of the United Mine Workers in Illinois; Frans Longville, formerly instructor in the Belgian Labor College; Philip Umstadter, President, Printing Pressmen's Union, No. 51; Joseph Schlossberg, Secretary-Treasurer, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; William Smith, Secretary-Treasurer, American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers; David J. Saposs of Brookwood, who has just returned from a year's study of the French Labor movement and A. I. Shiplacoff, manager of the Pocket Book Workers' Union.

Inquiries regarding the coming institute should be addressed to A. J. Muste, Brookwood Labor College, Katonah, N. Y.

and flagrant betrayal of the union he has been serving, public opinion thinks none the worse of him.

#### Lack Labor Psychology

4. This leads directly to another observation. In the face of conditions such as obtain in the mine fields of Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia, and which at the very moment that I am writing have called together several hundred of the foremost leaders of the American labor movement for a conference in Pittsburgh, it is ridiculous to argue that we have no class struggle in America. Nevertheless, for reasons already mentioned and others that might be touched upon if space permitted, workers in America are not for the most part class-conscious, they do not have a labor psychology. The worker considers himself just as good as the next fellow and perhaps a little better. He has much the same outlook in politics, economic, social, and religious matters as his middle class or capitalist neighbor. In fact, as economists such as Tugwell, Soule and others have pointed out in recent utterances, there is a lot more class-consciousness today among industrial and financial interests in this country than there is among the workers. Now, of course, a leader or member of the labor movement deeply imbued with a labor psychology, feeling that the employing and financial interests are in some real sense the enemies of labor, certainly not its ardent friends and protectors, will find that his "conscience" will not permit him to go over to the other side, and that if he does, he will be so despised both by workers and by employers, openly by the one, and secretly by

the other, that life will not be worth living. Where no labor psychology obtains he will face no such problem. The development of a labor psychology and morale is, however, a subject in itself, and its treatment is reserved for another article. Obviously, it is not a job that is going to be accomplished over night.

5. Finally, in a country where the labor movement has large and well developed trade unions, where it has a labor party requiring many party workers, giving an opportunity for people with labor sympathies to be elected to school boards, city councils, legislatures, etc., where there are co-operative institutions retail and wholesale, labor banking and insurance enterprises, perhaps, giving scope for business talents, where there is a workers' educational system, workers' sports activities, a workers' theatre, workers' schools for children, etc., in such a country the energies and talents of all kinds of people can be used and paid for, and there is no reason whatever why people born in the working class or sympathetic with it should seek outlet elsewhere. Indeed, it may happen that idealists from other ranks of society interested in scientific, constructive, aggressive social enterprises come to the labor movement so that the migration from class to class is completely reversed! In a country where the labor movement is not thus thoroughly developed in many directions, such conditions of course do not prevail. In other words, the development of a stronger and more inclusive labor movement would automatically solve some of the problems which we have been discussing, but this again is not the work of an hour or day.

# Red Cap's Difficulties

*May Bring More Negro Workers to Union*

By ALLEN S. A. TITLEY

**W**E see with deep gratification the rapid strides already made by "The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters," and while this body of men is pressing forward in the effort to throw off the yoke which Capital has placed upon them, it would seem as though the time is now ripe to direct the attention of the travelling public toward their Terminal brother, the Red Cap.

Not long ago a splendid editorial appeared in one of the leading weekly magazines showing the similarity between the Pullman Porter and the ante-bellum slave; but if the truth were known, I feel confident the consensus of opinion would be that the Red Cap is not only the nearest thing to a slave, but also, in many respects, is very few degrees removed from a beast of burden. The editorial writer points out that a corporation which deliberately pays an insufficient wage and cadges on the public to increase that wage, should be looked upon as a public nuisance. And further, "A corporation which fosters the creation of a menial and mendicant class is contrary to public policy."

This is exactly what is being done by the corporation which controls the Red Caps at the Grand Central Terminal. Within this station, which is rightly known as one of the greatest gateways to the world's travel, more than 500 Red Caps toil daily for a living, and over 300 of these men receive no salary at all, but depend entirely on the generosity of the public for their maintenance. They adhere strictly to an unwritten contract with the company, which, if put into writing, would read, "For the privilege of hustling in any part of the station, I agree to pay the company \$1 for the numbers on each side of my cap, and \$30 for my uniform and cap."

## **\$1 a Month**

In order to understand the inside working of the Red Cap force, we must dissociate the unpaid Red Caps from what is known as the regular or salaried men. The latter group consists of 100 men who receive \$1 monthly and 40 men who receive \$18 monthly. Although these are the oldest men in the service, they form, so to speak, the axis around which the work of the Red Cap force revolves, and are subjected to the most unjust treatment imaginable. Vanderbilt Avenue is the locality on which most of them work, and the greatest imposition placed upon them is the manner in which they are compelled to return to their detail after waiting on passengers. In days gone by, to work on Vanderbilt Avenue was looked upon as the zenith of a Red Cap's career and the men took some pride in their work; they could take passengers to any part of the station and return to their detail by the shortest possible route. But now things are entirely different; after waiting on a passenger on Vanderbilt Avenue the man is compelled to walk through

the waiting room to 42nd Street and Park Avenue and remain there until another man (who has waited on a passenger) relieves him. He then walks along 42nd Street to Vanderbilt Avenue and along Vanderbilt Avenue to 43rd Street, where he lines up behind 70 or 80 men. While he is making this route an "extra" man can run up the stairs and get a job if porters are needed on the Avenue. The Company's only explanation of this unnecessary walk is that 42nd Street must be covered.

## **A Mean Rule**

This system of covering 42nd Street is indeed an outrage. In June, 1925, it was discontinued, but recently has been again put into operation. Twelve of the oldest men have been detailed on the train gates and the parcel rooms in order that they may avoid this long walk.

In following this routine of work, the men do not only suffer considerable pecuniary loss, but are also rendered physically unfit after a few hours work. If it were possible to attach a speedometer to the person of one of these men, there is no telling how many unnecessary miles it would register.

At 11 a. m. and 1 p. m. every day, twelve men are sent to the Lincoln Bank to bring sacks of silver back to the New York, New Haven & Hartford and New York Central ticket offices. These men are taken from Vanderbilt Avenue. It is true that they have the protection of a few detectives, but in the event of a holdup, there is a possibility of a Red Cap being killed or severely wounded.

Owing to the fact that some of the platforms (especially in the Lower Level) curve at the extreme end, there is a wide space between the rear cars of an incoming train and the platform. This necessitates the placing of boards so that passengers may not slip between the train and the platform. Between 8 and 9 a. m. men are taken from Vanderbilt Avenue to place these boards. In this we have an example of the salaried men placing boards on a train while the unpaid Red Caps meet the same train and wait on passengers.

## **Overtime Without Pay**

Working overtime with no remuneration for doing so is an imposition placed on all the Red Caps. The men are supposed to be on duty ten hours with one hour for lunch, which leaves nine working hours. Four regular night men who receive \$36 monthly are supposed to work from 12 midnight to 10 a. m., but on account of business being particularly slow between 1 and 5 a. m. they are given the option of reporting for duty at 10 p. m. At any time a notice may be placed on the time clock, "All attendants work until relieved," and any man failing to obey this order is subjected to severe discipline.

The taking of train reports is really the only thing



that a salaried man is supposed to do, and the Company agrees to pay him \$18 per month for this work. These reports tell whether the trains are late or on time, and are taken every thirty minutes.

In the September issue of the New York Central Lines' magazine, an article entitled "Grand Central Chief Red Cap Tells the World" gave a most flagrant misrepresentation of the working system of the Red Caps at the Grand Central Terminal. The article was supposed to have been written by John A. Tunis, in the Elks Magazine and copied by the New York Central Lines' magazine. The writer seems to have received his information from a very unreliable source and among other untrue things stated that Red Caps at Grand Central Terminal received a salary ranging from \$40 to \$80 a month.

#### Company Lies

When a Company pays its employees less than a living wage, it is bad; when it pays no wage at all, it is worse; but when it permits an article to appear in its own magazine making such untrue statements about its employees, it is time that some step should be taken to inform the public that such information is incorrect. With the exception of the chiefs, there is no Red Cap in Grand Central Terminal who receives \$40 a month, unless he is doing special work for the Company. Thirteen captains receive \$20 monthly, forty men receive \$18 monthly, and 100 receive \$1 monthly.

In the days preceding the war period the salaried men received \$10.70 a month. During the war period, when the railroads were under government control, not more than 100 men were employed at a salary of \$45 a month. After the armistice was signed, and the railroads went back to private control, the salary was reduced to \$20 a month, and not long after it was again reduced to \$18. It is interesting to note that during the war period 100 men received three times as much as over 500 men receive at the present time.

Not long ago the New York Central employees received a raise in salary, but the Red Caps were not included. This leads one to believe that Red Caps are not considered employees by the Company. The day cleaners (a body of colored men employed to keep the platforms and concourse clean), were included in the raise. These men used to be controlled by the same department as the Red Caps, but it is rumored that they have recently been transferred to the department which controls the night cleaners, and since their transfer, they receive a larger salary, although the nature of their work has not been changed. If this is true, it seems peculiar that transferring the control of these men from one department to another should be the cause of their receiving a larger salary. At least, it is gratifying to hear that some colored men in the Grand Central Terminal receive a living wage.

Every effort on the part of the Red Caps to improve the conditions has been ignored by the Company. There have been occasions when one of the officials has granted an audience to a committee representing the men, and although they have never asked for a raise in salary but have always confined their grievances to a change in the working system, no change has ever been made.

#### CONFERENCE ON PENSION LAW

**A**BE Epstein, whose article on Old Age Pensions appears on page 20 of this issue, has arranged a conference on December 7th at 3 West 16th St., New York City, for the purpose of formulating plans for the first Old Age Pension law in New York.

President John Sullivan and Vice-president Thos. J. Curtis of the N. Y. State Federation of Labor will be there and many delegates from local unions.

#### Men Revolt

It is a principle amply borne out by history that the noblest traits of character in all bodies of men will be found in times of trial and disaster in the ranks of a protesting minority. Never was this truth more clearly illustrated than in the winter of 1924 when 30 or 40 Vanderbilt Avenue men banded themselves together and protested against the existing conditions.

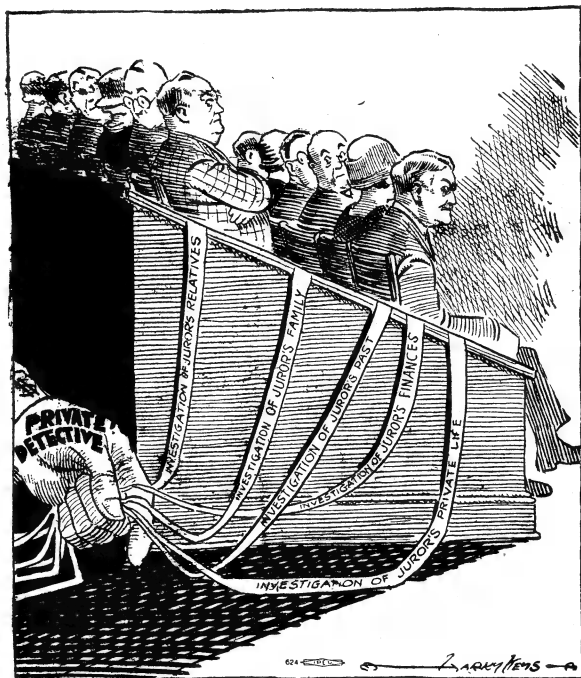
The first appeal was made to the Station Master who, after a lapse of three weeks, received a committee of three Red Caps. At this conference the men made it clearly understood that under the prevailing routine of work, the morale of the men was steadily deteriorating. Three months elapsed without any change taking place, and the men, tired of waiting, appealed to the Superintendent, who promised that he would give them some consideration. Six weeks passed, and not until the men again appealed to the Superintendent reminding him of his promise, was the walk around 42nd Street discontinued. The authorities have never made it clear to the men why they have put this walk into operation again.

It is quite evident that Red Caps are absolutely essential in the Grand Central Terminal, and it would not be out of place to imagine what would be the result if white men were employed instead of colored. It would not be long before a body of white men would be affiliated with some Labor Union and compel the Company to pay a living wage. The first few might be discharged, but other men would have to be employed. Judging from the number of men employed during the war period at \$45 a month, it is a foregone conclusion that 500 men would not be working in the station if every man received a living wage. Viewing the situation from a fair-minded standpoint, it is quite clear that the Company takes a base advantage of the Red Cap force, on account of the men not being organized.

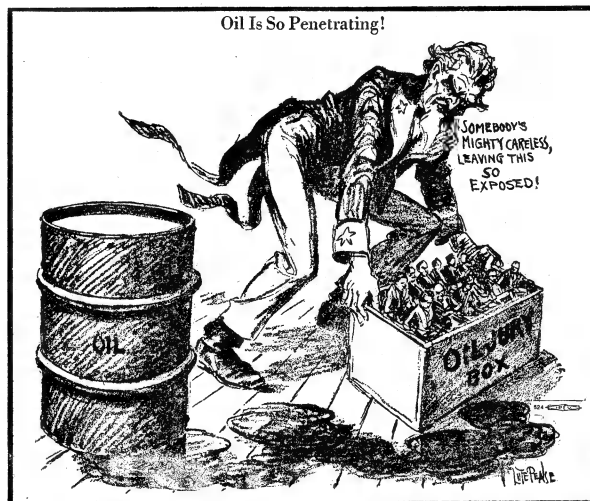
Having been a Red Cap for over 16 years, and having been subjected to the injustice which is still being heaped upon the men, I realize that the thread linking these appeals made by the men from time to time, is not apparent to the Company; but the thread is there. Is there not danger that there will be something more one distant day if the Company continues to treat the men with such gross indifference? The future will tell, but my experience in the Station has led me to believe that one of the greatest problems which the Grand Central officials have to face, is the problem of the Red-Cap.

# The Slimy Spy

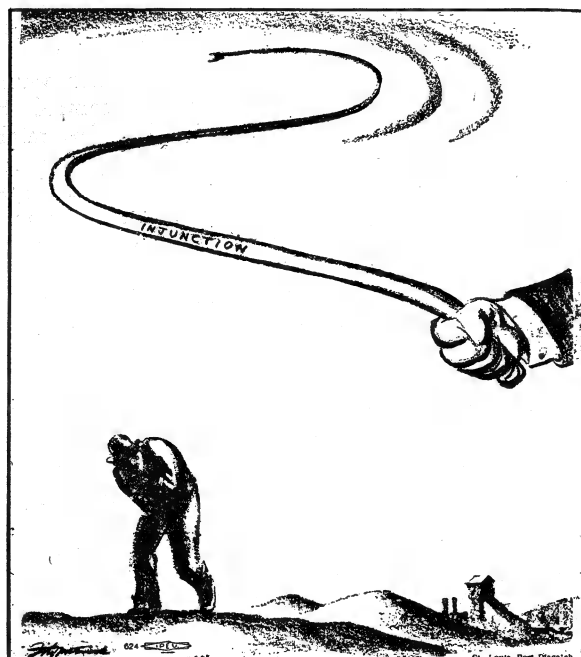
*Burns Calls Attention to Noxious Growth*



*The Columbus Citizen*



*Newark Evening News*



The Fall-Sinclair-Burns corruption expose has startled the nation. Whether it has yet aroused it, we cannot say. The ST. LOUIS POST DISPATCH asks, if we have come to the pass that rich criminals can not be brought to justice. To which we can add, "You said it, brother." Or words to that effect.

The Burns' part in the dirty drama re-enforces all that we have known and said about labor spies. William J. Burns is a "dean" in that filthy profession. The NATION of November 23rd has an excellent editorial on his history. It shows, among many other things, that in Joliet, Ill., only two years ago, a Burns man was found throwing a bomb at a non-union garage in the hope of placing the blame on strikers. The editorial ends with the suggestion that the "Burnses, Flynnes, Shermans, Thieles," etc. "ought to be put under a check-rein and made responsible for their acts."

To which we say, Amen. The "yellow dog," the infunction and labor spies all go hand in hand. They must be knocked out together.



# I Sue A Labor Spy

*In the Real Silk "Self Government" Fiasco*

By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

IN the E. M. B. A. BUILDER of the Real Silk Mills of November 18th there appears an item which reveals a sad individual by-product of the industrial struggle. The death of George Ferguson is reported, and it is added: "He was always known as a diligent worker and was a firm supporter of the E. M. B. A."

It happens that George was such a firm supporter of that company union, now happily exposed in all its fakery to the light of the world, that he had been one of the first to join the union in the summer. He had been the holder of book 17484 in the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers. The last time I saw him he wanted to pay his dues. I told him that we were devoting all our energies to the fight to free the boys from the "yellow dog" contract, and that dues paying would come later. "I hope that soon we will be free," he stated.

George did not live to see the destruction of involuntary servitude at the Real Silk Mills, as his more fortunate fellow workers will eventually see. The company blatantly advertises that his family gets \$1,000 in group insurance and \$100 death benefits. It would have fitted George's ideals more to have given his family \$1,000 in union labor life insurance, as the boys of the full fashioned department know, and to have received union death benefits. Those things happen every day in the unions, without any mouthing about it.

## The Church Investigation

While George has passed out of the mill gates through the Valley of Death, other boys have gone out under the wrath of the company. In the newspapers of the country there appeared an announcement this past month that a church commission investigation would be made in the hosiery industry of Company Unionism vs. Real Unionism. The announcement stated that the company union selected was the Real Silk Hosiery Mills in Indianapolis, while the union mill would be one of the many in Philadelphia. The union had requested an investigation of Real Silk Mills, and Mr. J. A. Goodman had retaliated by demanding an investigation of a Philadelphia union mill.

President Geiges of the Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers promptly announced in New York that the union welcomed such an investigation, out of which the true facts would undoubtedly come.

The approach of the commission has thrown the company into a panic of threats and intimidation. Man after man has been given individual treatment, and threatened with discharge if he testifies against the company and its creature, the E. M. B. A. Let us look at the cases of three of the men who were singled out for the "third degree" and discharge.

There is Virgil Boop, one of the finest boys that I have ever met. Quiet, unassuming, he is the soul of honor. He was departmental director on the second floor day force when the union came into the mill. (The "departmental director", be it remembered is the rather pretentious title of the representative of the men under the company union.) As with all the boys, Virgil was not asked to join the union. He asked to join. It is the man who wants admission so badly that he asks for it, who makes the member who can stand up under fire. Virgil came in from McCordsville and was admitted one Saturday afternoon, as Charlie Drake and I sat with him in his Ford near the Indianapolis union station. Virgil had worked in the seamless mill, and knew thoroughly the policy of broken promises of the Real Silk Co. He was on friendly terms with Charles E. Leeke, chairman of the company union, and knew just how impotent was that much-touted and now-discredited organization.

## The Book "Frame-Up"

On Tuesday, November 7, Boop was brought a card by Fred Clemons, superintendent, which he signed, allowing the mill to search him at any time. This is a card usually signed when a man is employed. At that time Clemons counselled him to stand by the company and against the union. The next night he was shown a record card for September which indicated that his record for "spirit" and production during that month had been "poor". Now it happened that he had already received a record card for that month, showing that his record on these things had been "good". Later on, Leeke admitted to him that this had been a "frame-up" to frighten him.

The proposition was then made to him, that if he would turn against the union and inform on the men, he would not only keep his job but be given "good" records. This he refused to do. On Monday, November 14th, he was accordingly discharged.

Thus, another "departmental director" goes out of Real Silk. The rapidity of turnover in "departmental directors" there exceeds that of Indianapolis Mayors. Theodore Alberto is another such "director" who has been ushered out of the mill. He was the new representative of the men on the night force, and took the job on the express condition that he would not be discharged during his term. Conditions have reached such a point that men fear to take the representative's job. That makes one a marked man.

## Alberto and Edison

Alberto and Edison were called in by the interesting Mr. Zinkin. With tremulous voice Zinkin told them that he had heard that they had seen me. They denied this, and demanded proof. Zinkin could give none, but said they were discharged. Then he proposed that they

## LABOR AGE

could show their "loyalty" to the company by "getting the goods on Budenz," so that the company could get an injunction. They asked how this could be done, and were advised to wait around and I would see them. Then, when that occurred they could go to Goodman and he would fix the "goods" all up.

Within a week they returned to state that they could secure no "goods" on me. They asked for their jobs back on their record. Zitkin declared that he could do nothing about it, and that they would have to go before the E. M. B. A. Board on the following day. When they returned for the Board meeting, they were told to wait out their two weeks in the effort to get the "evidence" on Budenz.

Typical of Real Silk methods in breeding "contentment" was the recent meeting held in the mill, at which the boys were lectured by Messrs. Goodman and Zitkin. Goodman engaged in a lengthy tirade against me, with information evidently furnished by the labor spy MacDonald. I judge that this was the source of the information, as the statements were so inaccurate. Zitkin said to the men: "The union contends that 90 per cent of you are union? If this is true, speak up. Who is a union man here?" No one replied. Then he stated: "Well, who is non-union?" No reply. "You are all yellow," he cried, with indignation.

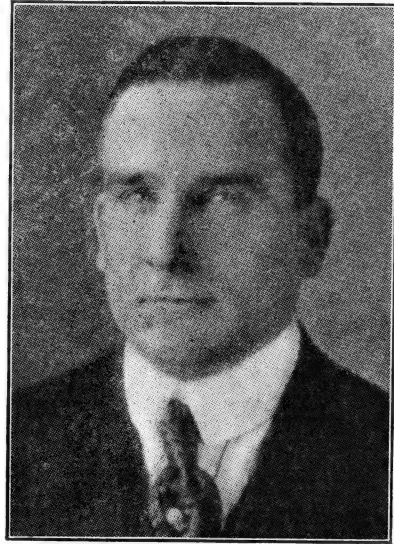
It happens that on "yellowness" Mr. Zitkin is not a good authority. He is much more intellectual than J. A. Goodman, but is intent upon keeping his meal ticket with Goodman. Sometime ago he made an address at the Columbia Conserve Co. on "Workers' Control", which he was very anxious that Mr. Goodman should know nothing about. It was an interesting example of mental gymnastics, which he also furnished as a member of the Citizens' Committee during the Indianapolis street car strike.

### MacDonald Writes Letters

While all of these stirring events were going forward, the labor spy MacDonald had to earn his fee. Accordingly, he attacked me in a series of Arabian Nights' fiction letters, by innuendo, as a Communist. These letters were written to President Gustave Geiges of the Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, demanding that he dispense with my services or MacDonald would continue to attack the union. We hope to be able to publish these letters later as an example of labor spy asininity. At the present time, we are content to sue the said MacDonald for \$25,000 for false and malicious libel. It is time that character assassination of effective organizers be stopped.

It is needless to say that these letters grossly misrepresented my ideas and ideals. They followed the ancient line of attack used by Marshall Olds, for the Steel Trust, in his "expose" of the Interchurch World Movement as "red". It is amusing to know that one of the chief indictments against me was my association with Joshua Lieberman, secretary of the Pioneer Youth of America. Our friend Josh is about as far from Communism as a man can be. The Pioneer Youth Movement is a perfectly safe and sane union effort to care for the children of trade unionists in summer camps and other like ventures. In that way, they will grow up, knowing something of the labor movement.

## THE DEFENDANT



Strike breaker and labor spy, who secured training with the notorious Sherman Service, now engaged in the attempt to fasten the Yellow Dog on textile workers, has worked for General Motors, United Fruit and other anti-union corporations in labor spy activities.

Other references were equally amusing. Under the same method I could "prove" that the Hon. William Howard Taft is a "red". The whole business is in line with the utterances of William H. Barr, of the National Founders' Association, condemning the entire A. F. of L. as "Communistic"—an utterance which rejoiced MacDonald very much. He scented employment with the Founders' Association, hunting down A. F. of L. officials as "reds".

In the midst of all these underhand attacks and open terrorism, the boys stand strong in their determination to be free. It is fine to get their telephone calls, their little notes at the hotel desk, the copies of the E. M. B. A. BUILDER which they slip to me. Although the espionage system of the mills keeps us apart physically to a large degree, their spiritual devotion to the cause is splendid.

### Fred Haskell Fumbles

It is scarcely necessary to say that there are one or two exceptions. We know them well, as they are very elephantine in their sleuthing methods, now that they have gone over to the company and MacDonald. The most conspicuous of these is little Fred Haskell. Fred is a boy who is not yet mentally out of the diaper stage. He was the most discontented of the workers when I came into Indianapolis and was largely responsible for my coming. It was evident from the first that he was using the union movement to advance himself in the good graces of Goodman, just as I have now found that he is using Goodman to try to get back into the good graces of the union. Meanwhile, his reports go into MacDonald's possession. How do I know that? The Real Silk Mills has yet to learn that double-crossing works both ways. Any information that I have received, by

## ARE YOU GOING TO PHILADELPHIA?

### "How to Organize Conference" an Important One

**W**E advise you to do it. Hie yourself to Philadelphia on Saturday, January 28th. On that very day, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, the "How to Organize" Conference of the Philadelphia Labor College will open at the Labor Institute, 810 Locust Street.

This is a timely conference, if you please. The changing tactics of the anti-union employers and the changing economic conditions require changing methods on our part. These shall be thoroughly discussed, we are told by Israel Mufson, the hustling secretary of the college. Joseph Ritchie, Representative of the American Federation of Labor in the Quaker City, will be on the opening program, with Joseph White of the United Textile Workers and Business Agent Louis Fowler of Electrical Workers No. 98. There will be a

discussion of the organization of women, and also an "Organization Dinner". Everyone will want to get in on the dinner, we are sure. Sessions will be held up to and including Sunday afternoon.

The conference has been endorsed by the Philadelphia central labor union and its organizing committee is at work with the Labor College. All labor colleges and central and local bodies are invited to send representatives. Five dollars will seat three representatives from each body, the money going to pay the expenses of the conference. No "V" could be better spent.

We suggest: Do it now. Send in your local union's "reservation" to Secretary Mufson, at 1807 Spring Street, Philadelphia. We hope to see a goodly representation of LABOR AGE readers present.

the way, has been gratuitous and volunteered to me; it is not bartered for, as it is in the mill by the management.

We shall continue to run the roll of honor and dishonor in this situation, as events justify such action. This much is certain: In this little drama of "self-government" exposed, we see the germs of decay which are in every company union that sets itself up as a substitute for Real Unionism. It is worth while to state in this connection that the union involved has never had any objection to the existence of the company union, if the real union be allowed freely to operate in the mills. The merits of the two can readily be tested by free competition, or by free cooperation.

The union could also show, I am certain, were it allowed the opportunity, that the management is wasteful and inefficient. One example of this is now at hand. In order to compel "contentment" by fiat, the company has brought Luke McCulley over from the seamless mill as night superintendent. McCulley can scarcely read or write. That is not to his discredit necessarily, but to that is added the fact that he knows nothing about full fashioned manufacture. The men working under him know more than he does. It has surprised many that Frank Rainey, night foreman, was not given this job. Rainey has been faithful to the company in the union row, although he was one of the chief instigators of discontent among the night men. He always complained to them about the tactics of the company. He was quoted to me time after time in the original union campaign as the man who had given the workers the cue about organization. It is ironical, that after he had attempted to change about face and help Goodman out, that he should be displaced by a man who is known for his "driving" tactics. Rainey knows about full fashioned manufacture and has been "loyal" to the famed "Real

Silk spirit", at least of late. And yet, he has been "rewarded" just as all workers in Real Silk have been rewarded. He finds himself under a man whom he cordially dislikes, according to report. Instead of being night superintendent himself, as under the great Real Silk boast, he should be—Rainey is placed under the direction of a man who knows as little about full fashioned manufacture as he does about Calculus.

#### The First Rule

The first rule of the new night superintendent was that no man could lean on anything or sit down, but must either stand looking at his machine or walk up and down the aisle. No suggestion has yet been made about a ball and chain! But if the Real Silk Mills think they can get production by any such idiotic rules, they are miserably mistaken. A worker at such work as this must have some chance to rest once in awhile. He cannot be made part of a machine. Any reputable student of industrial fatigue could tell them that. In comparison with such antics, the freedom in these respects enjoyed in union mills is refreshing, to put it lightly.

That day is past in Real Silk, just as the day of broken promises is rapidly passing. Zinkin might try to tell Alberto that he (Alberto) might be "superintendent of the mill" someday. But that sort of thing no longer works. The men know better. They have been fed up on such ridiculous statements. The crown on the head of the present superintendent seems to rest there none too steadily. And Alberto's chance of being superintendent are as slim as mine to be the successor of Mr. Coolidge. In fact, if all of Mr. Zinkin's "chances" were to be made into realities, there would be several hundred superintendents at the mill, which is suffering from an over-supply of Generalissimos already. But, you know—"Whom the gods would destroy. . . ."



# Can We Organize The Flapper?

*Answering a Pertinent Question*

By FANNIA M. COHN

“**D**O you still believe, Anne, that the flapper can be organized? I have less confidence in the organizability of the flapper now than ever.”

“Why this growing pessimism, Ruth? What has happened to justify your skepticism?”

“Nothing in particular, except observing the lack of interest of our flappers in the economic, social and labor conditions, and their willingness to accept things as they are. We see no protest coming from them.”

“Hear, hear!” cried Anne. “You are one of those who accept the general conception of the flapper without stopping for a moment to think whether it is so. If you would, then you would realize how contradictory this assertion is. Isn’t it true that the flapper is accused of breaking away from old traditions and age-honored customs and established moral conventions? Didn’t she in the face of opposition discard the ‘respectable’ long dress, and force her brothers and her mother and sweetheart to tolerate the short dress that hardly reaches the knees? Didn’t she dare to bob her hair like a boy’s?”

“You might enumerate many other virtues of the modern girl,” Ruth broke in impatiently. “Why not mention her courage in using a lipstick in public places, and her freedom of approaching men! But what has all this courage to do with the organizability of the flapper?”

“Hold on, Ruth,” answered Anne, “similar complaints are made by each generation as the new one challenges its established code of morals. Each time, those who cling to the old conception are shocked by the looseness of the behavior of those who break them, and interpret it as a sign of degeneracy; especially is this to be noted when a particular age is in a process of transition. This is to be expected in our ‘woman’s age’. The change in their status was so sudden that many were overwhelmed by it. It is natural that we are still in a state of confusion, and the result is the flapper. Frank, daring in breaking social customs and traditions, she is, I believe, the forerunner of the modern woman—as some would call her—the modern woman in the making’.

## Objects to Preaching

“We know, for instance, that she does respond to excitement—that she has a fighting spirit and is unafraid to make decisions. Approached in a spirit of friendship, she will be found accessible to new ideas. She resents an attitude of authority. Further, the flapper doesn’t want moral conceptions of life preached to her. She is willing to find out for herself.

“These characteristics should be studied and utilized by the labor movement for organization purposes.”

“Wouldn’t you be more definite, Anne, and tell me how you would approach the flapper—what organization method you would apply to her? In a word, what

would make her fight for the improvement of her economic conditions? What would stimulate in her a desire for a place in our industrial society?”

“It is not easy to answer your questions, Ruth,” replied Anne. “We have not as yet, developed an organization method for the new working girl. In fact, we had hardly started to develop an organization method and to appreciate the need of special machinery for the organization of women in general, when we were confronted with this special problem—the flapper.

“But my first concern is our attitude toward the flapper—the attitude of those who are to be her leaders. Can you imagine a general succeeding with an army in whose ability and fighting spirit he has no confidence? We all know that a prime requisite of success is the faith in the work undertaken. Women suffer under additional disadvantages in that while men are led by those of their own sex, women in the labor movement as in many other social institutions are still mostly led by men, and therefore the element of misunderstanding is inevitable. When we realize that women’s handicaps are not so much physical as psychological, this should make us more hopeful of her. Because though we know how difficult it is to change biological characteristics, yet according to modern psychology, character may be changed by the proper environment and atmosphere. Psychologists agree that praise can bring most constructive results and that blame and discouragement are destructive.”

“I still don’t know where you’re getting, Anne,” said Ruth, in a puzzled way. “Suppose you tell me how you would successfully approach the flapper in an organization campaign?”

“Well,” began Anne, “do you want a concrete example, a ‘case project?’ This happened many years ago in Chicago: At that time there was as yet no union of dressmakers established; the belief was general that it would be a ‘hard job’ to start an organization among such girls. This was based on the fact that Chicago was famous for its mixture of many nationalities. Some say that forty nations were represented. Many of them hardly knew the English language. A young woman, a trade unionist, interested in the organization of women, took it upon herself to find out by actual experiment whether the women in the garment industry in Chicago could be organized. She went to work in a factory controlled by one of the leading mail order houses, considered impenetrable for organization purposes. As usual, many reasons were given: First, that the hundreds of men and women who worked there were divided into separate units, according to the various articles produced each with its own complicated problems and separate management. Secondly, the workers there belonged to many nationalities, each group speaking its

own language. Thirdly, the skilled and better paid workers considered themselves Americans, proud that English was their common language. Indeed, this group was superficially considered to be satisfied with conditions, and it was thought that nothing could induce them to join their 'fellow workers' against their employers. And they held strategic positions; without their cooperation a strike would be futile. Above all was the fact that the employer had unlimited resources and public prestige: in case of an open conflict, all the public agencies would be on his side.

"Then the young woman succeeded in working in almost every department. After many weeks of employment, in spite of previous experience in the same line, she could seldom earn more than five dollars a week. The human side was even worse: as the foreladies were ignorant and inefficient, so were the managers above them. When she tried to find out why people did not revolt against such conditions, she discovered that one of the main reasons was the lack of confidence of the workers in the possibility of organizing themselves. Further inquiry led to the cause: that every quarter that should have been concerned with organization of workers, continually emphasized the impossibility of a successful organization campaign. And this had such a terrifically destructive psychological effect, that from their answers to her inquiries it seemed that if numerous unsuccessful attempts had been made to organize them. In reality, such a thing had never happened. The first thing that young woman did, was to get the confidence of a few persons in each department, and convince them that their conditions could be improved by their own effort, through trade union organization. She succeeded next in convincing them that they could be organized."

"But what bearing has this on the flapper question?" broke in Ruth impatiently.

#### Miracles!

"Hold on, don't confuse my memory!" said Anne with animation. "This has a great resemblance to the flapper ideology. Well, Ruth, the miracle happened: On a certain morning the hundreds of workers out on strike were addressed in headquarters by speakers in various languages. It resembled an international gathering. Side by side with the blonde Polish girls and the dark Jewish and Italian girls, operators who were probably earning at the most six dollars a week, were the skilled mechanics, the American gentlemen! These people, once convinced of the possibility of their own power, proved to be brave, fearless and tireless strikers: They called forth the admiration of the entire community and inspired the labor movement. And another miracle happened: the strike succeeded and new unions of makers of dresses, kimonas, wrappers, corsets, gloves, hats, etc., were born. And so the foundation of the present Dressmakers' Union in Chicago is due to the struggles of those people."

"I still cannot see," said Ruth resignedly, "what connection this has with the organizability of the flapper."

#### Fewer Prejudices

"Oh, yes," answered Anne, "it has a great bearing on the modern flapper in industry, because she is affected by the same attitude of mind on the part of her elders, as

those men and women in Chicago. How many of us in the labor movement appreciate the possibilities of the modern flappers? While it is true that she is easy-going, responsive to the frivolities of life, and does not want to be burdened, seemingly, with problems, it is also true that she has fewer prejudices. And I believe that she can respond to ideologies no less than the preceding generation—but these ideologies must not bore her. The flapper knows her world: we must build our organization talks around her experiences, and refer to the past as much as it enlightens her on the present, and gives her a better vision of the future that will be hers, we must not paint gloomy word pictures of her present life. No exaggeration of conditions was ever successful in a general organization campaign, and it is especially repulsive and fatal with the modern flapper. The most effective approach in presenting industrial conditions is to point out their defects to convince the flapper as to the necessity of changing them and to stimulate confidence in her own ability to achieve it. In a word, the efforts of an intelligent organizer must lead to action."

"You are on the road to convincing me, Anne," said Ruth thoughtfully. "But do you mean to say that women can be easily organized, and that only a new type of organizer can achieve it?"

"Not at all," Anna was animated. "Excessive simplifications of a difficult problem very often spells defeat. Those who attempt to give the impression that the organization of women can be easily achieved, make no contribution whatsoever. An honest and frank presentation of a difficult problem is a safeguard against discouragement and prepares one for a long and intensive battle. When we speak of difficulties, however, let us agree from the outset that the organization of men or women was always a difficult task. It was, by no means easy to organize women who are still claimed by the later pioneer period, and before we had time to adjust ourselves to organization of women in general, we were confronted with the special problem of the flapper."

"As to your second question, whether only new people can organize the multitudes of women, I should say this is too sweeping! There are many distinct abilities and qualifications that a person must possess to be fit to do organization work. These abilities are not confined to a particular age. To my mind a successful organization campaign will have to be carried on both by the young and new and also by the older and more experienced organizers. Both have a contribution to make. There are still among us people who belong to the later pioneer period of our movement, who have in them the spirit of youthfulness, to whom the labor movement is an ideal, and who have faith in its realization. They can inspire the women to join its ranks, because they also have faith in the new woman. They meet her on equal grounds and both should cooperate, although there may be a defining function to each. Both must be dynamic, enthusiastic about the labor movement, impressive and convincing in speech. Persons with warm hearts, an understanding of human nature, an ability to inspire the workers to action, and at the same time a practical approach, will be among the best organizers. In a word, while the approach should be idealistic, the driving force of the labor movement must be realistic."

# Pensions for Aged Workers

*Labor's Alternative to Poorhouse*

By ABRAHAM EPSTEIN

**E**VER since the beginning of the industrial era, wage earners have looked with fear and apprehension upon the period of old age. As our industrial life has grown and as machinery is constantly replacing human labor, the working man's dread of old age has not only been intensified but has become more and more warranted. For the mass of workers, the possibilities of remaining economically independent in old age are diminishing rapidly.

While the number of the aged is constantly increasing, the opportunities for making an independent living are constantly decreasing. Modern industry demands only the young, the healthy ones, the adaptable, the supple of limb and the alert of mind. As industry is organized chiefly for the purpose of efficient production, it cannot be expected to retain in employment men and women who are unable to maintain the required pace of efficiency. Also, because a great many of the larger industries have introduced private pension plans—all of which are practically financially unsound and unguaranteed and generally require a continued period of service from 20 to 30 years—the age of employment for new workers has been constantly reduced. As a result, a great many industrial concerns today deny employment to skilled workers after the age of 45 and to unskilled workers after the age of 35.

Most people today no longer work for themselves but are more and more coming to depend upon their daily earnings for their daily bread; and as the question of going back to the farm is not even considered any more, the cutting off of employment possibilities in modern industry during the forties or fifties is becoming one of the most serious problems confronting the nation today. The magnitude and seriousness of the problem is shown by the fact that even in these prosperous and piping times, from 1,800,000 to 2,000,000 aged persons are depending upon others for part or entire support.

What is the solution?

Individual thrift? Ever since Adam, people have been urged to save and be thrifty. But instead of saving, even Adam, who had no necessity of "keeping up with the Jones's" could not resist the suave salesmanship of the serpent and instead of saving his apple, ate it. When he was hungry, Essau was ready to sell his birthright for a pot of porridge. Indeed, thrift may be a desirable habit for those who can actually afford to save, but such savings become a mockery in the case of low paid wage earners. Even a casual survey of American wages and costs of living, will convince anyone that the great mass of American wage earners have yet to earn an income commensurate with a decent standard of living for an American family. It may seem perfectly logical to editorial writers to conclude that the income of the average family in the U. S. is about \$3500 per year. But, somehow, you and I know that there must be some-

thing wrong in this, for at least we do not get it. And the fact is that the average wages of factory workers in New York State, where wages are highest, is still about \$28 and \$29 per week.

Furthermore, one of the chief reasons for our Coolidge-Mellon boasted prosperity has been due to the fact that American wage-earners spend their money instead of saving it. Through a million high-pressure sales campaigns, they are urged not only to spend what they have already earned but even to mortgage their future savings in the innumerable "dollar down" installment schemes. Had they instead saved their money for emergencies and old age, very likely their employment would be cut off and there would be an end to "prosperity." The choice is really between spending their money and being "prosperous," or saving it and become jobless.

The poorhouse? There is nothing more destructive of self respect and so repugnant to the honest worker than the prospect of the poorhouse in old age. Its very perpetuation represents an irradicable blot upon our entire civilization. The whole system represents not only an antiquated and incompetent method of care for the aged, but also an economically inefficient and costly system to the taxpayer.

Private charitable relief? Charitable organizations represent no improvement over the poorhouse. The odium attached to such relief agencies is of the same nature as that of poor relief. They are but the last refuge for poor persons to go to. Economically they are as wasteful as our county system of poor relief.

Industrial pensions? The number of aged persons protected against poverty by the pension plans of industrial concerns is negligible. Hardly any of these are established on a sound financial basis, and most of them represent but good-will promises. The history of the private pension system is strewn with wrecked pension plans and not one of these forms of relief can be depended upon to offer any considerable solution of the problem.

There is only one solution to the constantly more seriously growing problem of old age dependency. It must be met in the same way as has already been met by virtually every civilized nation on earth—by the inauguration of a constructive social policy along the lines of old age insurance or pensions. It is not much credit to us that today of the populous countries, only the United States, China and India have failed to make such social provision for their aged toilers. A pension or insurance plan would not only alleviate the immediate needs of the aged, who are no longer able to maintain themselves in modern industry, but would at the same time encourage employers to give employment to older workers, and to continue them in employment as long as possible, as they would no longer fear the burden of superannuated employees, who might fall dependent upon them.



## "UNIONISM IS COMMUNISM"

### Modern Tyrants Use Old-New Form of Attack

**I**T WAS certain to come to that, sooner or later. Red-phobia vies with heart failure as the dominant disease among the "higher classes" of this land of freedom. Some Brigadier-General or other threw a fit in Baltimore the other day because, forsooth, the flagpole before a public building had been painted a crimson hue. The officials in charge humbly assured him that the forbidden color would soon turn brown through action of the weather.

No one with eyes about him needed any sense of prophecy to understand that this insanity would be directed against the American Federation of Labor. The anti-union employers know, with an increasing sense of uneasiness, that they have transgressed all the moral laws of decency and freedom. They know that they have made the courts as much instruments of tyranny as they were in the hands of the Slave Power or the pre-revolutionary British Tories.

Therefore, like unto the Slave Power and the Tories, they cry out to high heaven against the "sedition" of the union groups. It is not merely Haley Fiske who shouts "Bolshevism" at the effort to help his \$12 a week office workers. It is not merely the snooping MacDonald who hisses "Communist" at the editor of this publication, for daring to interfere with his labor spy activities. On November 16, the National Founders Association held a great emotional debauch in New York City, at which the A. F. of L. itself was denounced as a partner of Communism. William H. Barr of Buffalo, worker-hating president of that association, delivered himself of this weighty utterance:

"It may be that many well-meaning persons feel that the unions are a tower of strength against communistic ideas. As a matter of fact, there is little difference between communism and a labor union oligarchy."

LABOR AGE has been indicating for a long time that this would be precisely the line of attack taken by these enemies of liberty. Union labor can never hope to make itself "respectable" in the eyes of these respectable vultures. They like only one kind of worker organization, and that is a dead one. Mr. Barr continued his tirade with an appeal for a

more effective "open shop." He characterized the campaign of labor leaders against Communism as a cloak to cover the "unsavory" record of unionism. The A. F. of L. was charged with a deliberate effort to impair the power of the courts "to afford effective judicial protection in trade disputes."

How much does that smack of the court-loving Slave Power, which attacked Abraham Lincoln as "seditious" for his criticisms of the United States Supreme Court! Referring to the putrid Dred Scott decision of the pro-slavery Court, Lincoln said:

"Familiarize yourselves with the chains of bondage and you prepare your own limbs to wear them. Accustomed to trample on the rights of others, you have lost the genius of your own independence and become the fit subjects of the first cunning tyrant who rises among you. And let me tell you that all these things are prepared for you by the teachings of history, if the elections shall promise that the next Dred Scott decision and all future decisions shall be quietly acquiesced in by the people." (See Beard's *RISE OF AMERICAN CIVILIZATION*, Vol. II, page 16.)

In his wrathful might, Lincoln dared hurl this defy at the protector of the Slave Interests. In like manner must Labor today throw down the gauntlet to the courts, which have become the tyrannical instruments of oppression for the Big Business Interests. Labor must do that, or perish. There is no alternative.

In so doing, it will be dubbed "Communistic" and "seditious," even as Lincoln was called "traitor," "free lover" and other similar terms by *LESLIE'S WEEKLY* and other reactionary organs of his time. That need not disturb us. Such are the slogans of those whose souls have been withered by Greed and whose only patriotism is the dollar sign.

Let us go forward to the task of circumventing the anti-worker courts, and out of the agitation secure Federal legislation that will clip their talons. Ours is the future, if we do our duty, for ours is the way of Freedom. Even as it was with the American revolutionists and the haunted and hunted Abolitionists, so shall it be with us.

## BURYING "PROSPERITY"

### Professor Fisher Interers a Dead Myth

**T**HANKSGIVING Day was responsible. While many of us were talking "turkey" and eating something else, Professor Irving Fisher took occasion to advise us of a few truths. Cause for national thanksgiving there is, he says, but the "best available statistics show that the American people are not yet prosperous in any absolute sense."

The entire statement of Professor Fisher can be read on the editorial page of the NEW YORK TIMES for November 26th. Four-fifths of us, we learn, or 90,000,000 of the American people, are "making only a little over their expenses. They can lay up little, if anything, for a 'rainy day.'"

Professor Fisher takes issue with President Edgerton of the National Association of Manufacturers, when that Jeremiah of the employing world spoke of "abnormally high wages" as a national menace. It is very clear, from the statistics, that Mr. Edgerton, as usual, did not know what he was talking about. Of the 117,000,000 persons living in the United States, Prof. Fisher shows that 93,000,000 of them receive about \$510 per person per year. This ninety odd million form the two lowest economic groups in the nation—the "poorest" and the "lowest middle" classes. In the poorest class, by itself, the average distribution of income is about \$460 per person per year.

With these facts staring him in the face, the Yale economist could come to only one conclusion. "With only an estimated \$117 of income per family above the minimum of comforts and necessities during a year that is often called the most prosperous ever known," he says, "this majority of the American people cannot yet be said to be in danger of having too much income."

We believe it is in order to refer that definite statement to all the commissions who so eagerly came over to this country from foreign lands, stayed a short time, and went home to dilate on this Land of Promise. The "Prosperity" myth, long ago knocked in the head, can now be regretfully interred. This is not a Land of High Wages. It is Europe that is still a Continent of Peon Wages. When Lincoln freed the slave, he did not figure out that the Egyptian fellah is in a much worse position and say: "Well, the slave is well off in comparison." He merely said that slavery was wrong and should be wiped out. So we cannot join in Mr. Edgerton's plea to establish European wages in this country. Rather do we say that the new involuntary servitude established here is degrading to men, and that the income received by the wage workers is still an insult to their production and their manhood.

The cry of the American workers for the New Year should be: "More! More! More freedom! More income!"

## ON THE TRAIL OF THE SPY

### Aid Us to Root Out the Informer

**H**E WANTED to be a policeman. But reading an ad that advised ambitious young men to become detectives, he decided to follow that calling.

Only one agency at which he called in his city wanted him. They suggested that he could remain at his job and have all the thrills of a "dick" at the same time. How was this to be done? Inform upon his fellow! He rejected the offer with scorn.

Now, in answer to our appeal for information on labor spy agencies, he writes us, asking us not to mention his name. He is an unorganized worker, enjoying the gratuities of company unionism in a large electric appliance plant. Were his name published, he would be discharged forthwith. He found the last copy of LABOR AGE, hidden away in an obscure place in the plant by some fellow-worker. Reading it with interest, he found our appeal for cooperation in the great snake-killing labor spy hunt. He replied with his story.

That was one of the several letters we received with information of value on these under-cover organizations. We ask for more. Nothing filthier calling itself human has been evolved than the informer against democratic movements of the masses. The American revolutionists gave pre-emptory treatment to men of that type. They tarred and feathered and maltreated them in a thorough fashion. Believing in non-resistance as the great weapon of the workers, we advise no such course of action. Rather do we think that we should intelligently ferret them out, and brand them to be what they are, wherever they are met with.

The time has come to stamp out this vicious private spotting and spying, that is making American workers as much morally enslaved as ever was a Russian under the Czars and their notorious secret police. We appeal for your cooperation in this undertaking, in order that we may have a complete card-index of our vile enemies and their works.

At the same time, there should be an insistent demand for the abolition of private detective agencies, which are parasites on industry. The story of their nefarious practices should be spread at every opportunity. We believe that if the American people knew what a menace the private detective agency is, it would soon go.

P. S.—This was the postscript written by the worker mentioned above in his letter: "Don't mention my name in your book or I might get 'fired' if the bosses or the head spy read it." To which we say, merely: "Shades of American Freedom! Where have you flown?"

# Following the Fight

*With Comment Thereon*

By THE MANAGING EDITOR

OUR AIM:

To Educate the Unorganized—To Stimulate the Organized—  
To Unity, Militancy and Intelligent Action.

## EDUCATING THE UNORGANIZED

### Further Glimpses at Necessary New Tactics

The new factories and the new furnaces were like the Pyramids, telling of man's enslavement, rather than of his power, casting their long shadows over the society that took such pride in them.—J. L. and B. Hammond, *THE RISE OF MODERN INDUSTRY*.

OF one thing we are convinced. Labor men in the past have given entirely too much credit to anti-union employers for super-intelligence. These employers, as a matter of truth, are woefully ignorant. They know little of history and its relation to their own eventual fate. They know nothing of the primitive law of cause and effect. Despite their running hither and thither for personnel men, they get but little real information on human psychology. They have been merely gifted abnormally with the itch of Midas. It carries them a long way, but to that way there is a turning.

The great thing on which these capitalist ignoramuses can bank is that the shadow of our factories has not only enslaved the workers, but has made them ignorant of their power.

In the new tactics, which Labor must use more and more in this day and age, that must be a major consideration. Workers must not be taken into union membership only. They must be educated to an understanding of their power and of how it can be used. They must get a glimpse of their historic mission, and of the great message of voluntary association. They must be informed of the radical history of this country, and shown how on a new class plane union labor is renewing the fight against injustice. They must see the anti-union employers in right perspective, as the spiritual successors of the British Tories and the Slave Power.

The first instinct of unorganized workers, newly organized, is to strike. Frequently, that is just what the employer wants them to do. Some union men,

even, confuse militancy with "Strike, strike, strike." That is a false conception. We believe that a study of the present situation will show that the recalcitrant employer is frequently more worn out by not striking and by a continuance of education and agitation among his men. Frequently the starch can be taken out of him by showing that actual graft, waste and inefficiency exist in his mills. We cannot soon forget the surprise of the silk manufacturers in the Scranton district when the United Textile Workers revealed that there was widespread corruption among the bosses.

Different situations call for different courses of action. But we are confident, that as a general proposition, it is much wiser to follow this policy:

1. Upon organization, do not strike immediately but take time to educate the men and women to what unionism is. Do this by plant bulletins or magazines, and by frequent letters.

2. Secure the co-operation of liberal men and women in sending letters or lessons in freedom to the workers.

3. Let the workers understand, as well as possible, the relation of their problems and situation to that of workers in the rest of the industry. If possible, have letters of greeting sent to them from union groups, in other cities, filled with inspiration and with data on the industrial situation. Anti-union employers are always busy in keeping the truth from the workers, or in presenting it in false colors. The unorganized worker is always eager for new information that has been denied him.

We present that as something worthy of consideration. It is one part of our new tactics, but it is by no means an unimportant part. We have definitely assured ourselves that the unorganized CAN be organized. This will help, to a degree, to KEEP them organized.



## READING'S ALL RIGHT!

THAT question which the Federated Trades Council of Reading, Pa., asked in October, and to which we gave attention then, has been partly answered by that council itself. The question was: "What's the Matter with Reading?" We can now reply: "Politically, she's all right."

President J. Henry Stump of the Federated Council becomes Mayor, out of the November elections. We are now seeing pictures of him in many newspapers at his old trade of cigarmaker. Reading could have no better Mayor than Stump. He has shown himself an excellent business executive in the presidency of the People's Printing Co., conducted for the unions and Socialist Party of his city. His affable manner and good common sense have made him perhaps the most popular man among his townsfolk. It is worth noting that it is only about a year since the Mayor-elect was arrested on the picket line in a garment workers' strike. The police did not wish to arrest him, but he insisted on being treated the same as the other pickets.

The entire Socialist ticket went in with Brother Stump. James H. Maurer, president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, becomes a member of the council for four years. A veteran union cigarmaker, William C. Hoverter, will be city treasurer. He has announced that he will cut his salary \$14,000 per year, accepting \$6,000 in place of the \$20,000 former treasurers took unto themselves.

Labor men—both Socialists and non-Socialists—will be pleased with this victory. It assures honest government for Reading. It guarantees that the Berkshire Mills and the Carpenter Steel Co. will not run the town. It means that free speech and free assemblage will be allowed union organizers. It will open the doors to a better possibility for organizing both of these anti-union holes.

## SOB STUFF VS. JUSTICE

WITH the approach of Christmas, some of our newspapers are beginning their annual glycerine slobbering over the poor and the aged. The NEW YORK EVENING POST, property of the anti-union Curtis, wails buckets of tears weeks in advance. It is on its yearly collection expedition for the aged poor.

This sob stuff might be suffered to go on without comment, if there were any sincerity to it. As a matter of fact, there is none. Practically every one of these enormously rich papers which are now blubbering for circulation purposes over the aged poor will fight to the last ditch against the New York Federation of Labor's proposal for old age pensions.

The workers, we hope, will soon be through with Slobber and demand Justice. The New York Federation's campaign is a healthy sign. The St. Louis Central body follows suit, in opening its fight for pensions for the aged in Missouri.

## POOR OLD PEPPERELL

THE word Pepperell stands for Scabbery. Whenever you see ads for Lady Pepperell sheets in the newspapers or your "favorite magazine", you will know that these sheets have been made under putrid conditions.

The union product is the PEQUOT, made at the Naumkeag Mills in Salem.

The wages at Biddeford and Lowell and at the Lewiston Bleachery and Dye Works—all under Pepperell management—have been far below decent standards, as it was. To make the situation worse, the mills and the bleachery are instituting another wage cut of 10 per cent.

In explanation of the cut at Lewiston, the management says:

"Our business at the Lewiston Bleachery and Dye Works is dependent on our plant at Biddeford and other mills in Lewiston. Last week we were forced to curtail 25 per cent at Biddeford, and the operations of the other mills to whom we looked for business have been curtailed."

The only recourse that this stupid management can see before them is to strike further at wages. We wish to brand that, right here and now, as an asinine policy. We have seen enough of the Pepperell management to know that it is woefully inefficient, and that its curtailment in production is largely due to this inefficiency. How it can hope to get out a decent product, from underpaid workers, is something of a mystery. From its own selfish, capitalistic viewpoint, poor old Pepperell is committing the ancient error of Bourbons.

## "SABOTAGE"?

AN almighty lot of discussion is going on among textile manufacturers as to the cure for their "troubles." Aside from certain basic economic ills in their industry, we have long ago come to the conclusion that the chief trouble in textiles is too much "mouth" and not enough brains.

One constant chorus, however, we find running through the song of sorrow which these manufacturers manage to sing. It is the devising of some scheme to "cut production." Oscar L. Stanard, chairman of the merchandising-advertising committee of Associated Service Wholesalers, is the latest convert to this idea. He urges a merger of textile business units to aid this helpful process. All through New Bedford and other textile centers the question of cutting production is uppermost. (See, for example, N. Y. JOURNAL OF COMMERCE, November 23.)

We simply rise to ask at this time: What would happen to the lowly workingman if he made any such suggestion on a grand scale? Would he not be damned, as the building trades are damned for "restricting membership"? Would he not be charged with "sabotage", and hastily confined behind the bars? We rather think, Yes.

Ah—but this is not a workingman's world! We overlooked that little detail.

## DISCOVERING "COLLECTIVE OWNERSHIP"

BERTRAM AUSTIN has just departed from our midst. He has returned to England. Perhaps you remember that Mr. Austin is the co-author of that fairy tale book, THE SECRET OF HIGH WAGES, in which he accounts for all the "good times" for the workers in America. He is an engineer, by the way; and engineers,

as is to be expected of a profession dedicated to exactness, are the most inexact observers in the world. Subconsciously, they observe for the group which will give them employment—the possessing class.

Mr. Austin has been observing on this last trip “the increasing trend toward the collective ownership of capital.” He gazes upon it, and finds it to be good. The workers are coming into their own via the stock-buying route, thinks he.

It is the Mitten plan in Philadelphia which the English gentleman has been studying. All is peaceful there now—on the surface. We had preferred that he had made a study of some corporation in the process of union fermentation. He would have beheld then the attempt at producing the slave-mind, which is the particular goal of the employers of those United States. We think he might also have consulted such a conservative economist as Professor Irving Fisher, who has revealed much of the hypocrisy in the stock-selling game. Not that it would have affected Mr. Austin; he is bent upon a particular conclusion. But it might have jolted his complacency a bit, and caused him to attempt a number of hopeless explanations.

No “collective ownership” worth its salt will come in industry until, first, the workers have been universally organized and made freemen. It is significant, nevertheless, that the employers are now using such terms as “collective ownership” and “industrial democracy”, which formerly we were told were “socialistic” and “seditious”. It indicates that there is much unrest brewing underneath the surface, which they wish to head off—as every investigation that we have made has demonstrated.

#### PAWAH AND PLENTY

Being Our Own Aesop's Fable

**A**MONG recent distinguished visitors to our bonny shores has been Pawah. He has not swum the English Channel, either in reality or in fancy. He has not flown across the broad Atlantic, nor has he come to examine our high-paid workers. He is something more than all that—a sacred white elephant from Burmah, Siam or some other “backward” country.

Much fun was poked at Pawah by the newspaper correspondents because he is supposed to be sacred. It seemed never to occur to them that we have a lot of sacred white elephants of our own. Let a broken-down prince or a Queen whose hands are bloody with the persecution of her people come to see us, and there is an uproar of welcome such as only a democratic people can give.

Then, there is “Prosperity”. It is as sacred with us as Pawah is in Burmah. It is a white elephant on our hands, deceiving the workers as to the true conditions. Without question it exists—in the seats of the mighty. On November 11, the General Motors Corporation announced the largest cash dividend distribution in the history of American industry. Over \$62,250,000 was handed over to the stockholders for the operations of the

past three months. Wall Street cheered wildly as the announcement was made.

That is one side. Let us look at the other. The September unemployment report of the United States Department of Labor indicates that things are not so well down among the workers. Factory employment for September, 1927, according to this report, was 4.6 per cent below that of September, 1926 and 12 per cent below that of 1923. Then, there is the cry of pain from the lips of President J. E. Edgerton of the National Association of Manufacturers. That ancient tyrant has been hoisted by his own petard. Wall Street and its big concerns are squeezing the “middle manufacturer” hard, as the depression gradually closes in. Despite Edgerton's wail, we see by the WALL STREET JOURNAL that the group that owns the nation's industries is getting more than their share. It shows that 622 corporations, which include a number of “middle manufacturers”, made net profits of \$1,463,836,860 during the first nine months of this year. During that time, employment began to slump for the workers and wages were far from measuring up to those workers' increased production.

Our fable ends, therefore, with this moral: Our white elephant, “Prosperity”, must be upset. The workers must be shown how they are being defrauded. That will speed the message of organization. The figures above are quoted here in order that our readers may quote them elsewhere—in the shop, on the street, from the platform, or in reaching our fellow-workers in their homes.

#### ADVICE TO PROFESSORS

**A**GAIN we have the poor professor with us. In their recent volume, BUILDERS OF AMERICA, Messrs. Ellsworth Huntington and L. F. Whitney have pleaded his case. He is underpaid. Consequently, he is under-propagated, if we may put it that way. With a meagre salary for his hire, he resorts to birth control in one form or another. The authors fear that this means the erasing of much of the “better element” in our stock.

We are more than doubtful about the latter contention. We have no faith that man can be developed on the bull-pen plan. If we did, we would give up all hope in the workers. There is an over-supply of bunk in the pleas for the “better element.”

If courage be a mark of worth, then the professorial gentlemen as a class have a long way to go before they secure esteem in our estimation. Why, pray, are they underpaid? Because—to use a popular phrase—they have not the “guts” to organize. They have stood by, mouths-agape, while the greater bulk of university and college money was put into massive buildings and expensive laboratories. We have no objections to either; they are needed. When union-made, they help the workers directly and indirectly. But a two-million dollar building is a whited sepulchre when it houses teachers who are not paid fairly. When these teachers acquire that which they imagine they have so much of—brains—they will remedy the situation by their own action. We advise them to begin upon this business.

# In Other Lands

## OIL WAR LOOMS

### U. S. and Russia Versus Great Britain

**S**INCE the Great War, Oil has become the chief cause of troubled international waters. Those who followed the exchange of bitter notes between our State Department and Great Britain in 1920 will learn with some concern of the revival of oil hostilities on a big scale during the current month. Mexico and Mosul having been disposed of, Russia becomes again the giant battleground of the Oil Trusts.

The Supreme Court of Mexico did what every well-informed person knew it would do; bowed to the will of the American oil companies. The Oil Revolution in Mexico is largely at an end. It is significant that, at the same time, the Standard Oil Co. increases its grip on Mexican petroleum. The Calles government found that attacking a voluntary organization such as the Catholic Church and battling with oil barons were entirely different propositions.

Quiet has settled down in Mosul, with the international agreement to divide the fields there between the various large nations. Russia flares up, almost simultaneously, as the new scene of conflict.

The two great antagonists are the Standard Oil Co. of New York and the Royal Dutch Shell of Great Britain. The New York Standard has been flirting with Russia for quite a while. Its attitude was advertised to the world in 1926, in the now famed letters of Ivy Lee. That gentleman, publicity agent for the Rockefeller interests, came out flat-footedly for recognition of Russia. Walter Teagle, president of the Standard of New Jersey and close friend of Sir Henri Deterding of the Royal Dutch Shell, took a more recalcitrant stand. He still maintains it, for some reason or other; but the Vacuum Co., another subsidiary of the Rockefellers, has fallen in line with the New York company and is openly dealing with the Soviets.

Over the protest of the Dutch Shell, the Socony and Vacuum interests entered upon a still further contract for Russian oil in this past month of November. Socony gets a minimum of 360,000 tons of oil over a period of six years, for its Near East markets. This is the third contract between the Soviets and the Socony; the company's purchases under all three contracts amounting to a minimum of 1,400,000 tons a year. The new Vacuum contract's terms have not yet been revealed.

The British company, in its anger, has retorted with a price-cutting war. It would not be surprising to see it make an attempt again, as it has done so successfully in the past, to whip up British passions against America and Russia. It is openly hinted (as per last month's *LABOR AGE*) that Baldwin's break with Russia came when the Tories saw that the Soviet oil was going to American interests. The Royal Dutch Shell takes the position that the oil sold to the Standard comes in really from its own oil wells, confiscated by the Bolshevik government.

To make the picture more sinister, Thomas Edison advises us that European sentiment is bitterly anti-American; and on the same day, the Czechoslovakian representative tells us that Russia is being ringed around with hostile nations under the leadership of Britain. Apparently, Uncle Sam and the Soviets have succeeded to the "black legend" about Germany.

That these economic conflicts are dangerous sources of bloodshed is well-known to everyone following the situation. The only immediate hope of the workers is in the triumph of the British Labor Party, with a possible reversal of the Tory policies. Beyond that, there must be the determination of the workers everywhere to stand for Peace, no matter what the cost.

### "CONFISCATION"

It is interesting to note the varying views of Big Business interests on "Confiscation", accordingly as it helps or hinders their particular game. The American oil companies were very loud in their denunciation of Mexican oil laws as "confiscatory", although they can scarcely be called so in reality. What the Mexican Government requested was that foreign oil companies now having grants from the Diaz government surrender these grants in return for a title for a limited number of years. The British companies hastened to comply with these regulations and did not raise the cry of "confiscation" at all.

In Russia, on the other hand, it is the British interests

which are shouting "confiscation", and the American companies which apparently care little for such discussions as long as they get the oil. We have then this contradictory situation:

1. IN MEXICO the American Interests attack "Confiscation", while the British Interests smile upon it.

2. IN RUSSIA the British Interests attack "Confiscation", while the American Interests smile upon it.

We believe that a little irony is in place here. "Confiscation" seems to be a sacrilegious thing only when this particular Interest's toes are trod upon; when it will help that particular Interest to grab from some other Interest, then it is perfectly ethical and justifiable.



## FASCISM IN AUSTRIA

When Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union was in southern Europe during the earlier part of this year, he reported that Austria enjoyed more liberty than any other of the countries of that section. Such can scarcely be said now.

The "Red" riots in Vienna gave Reaction an excuse to use strong arm methods on radical opposition. This it has done as thoroughly as it possibly could, being satisfied that the peasants are strongly in support of some such policy. At the same time, the "Heimwehr" or Vigilantes for Reaction are displaying further and further Fascist sympathies. Rumors are going about that a definite alliance has been made between these thug-forces and the Italian groups of the same type. These rumors have been vigorously denied, but the fact that they exist does not lend security to the situation. Austria, while talking unity with Germany, finds itself internally in a state of suspicion and disturbance.

## GERMAN MINERS WIN, BUT—

It is a pleasure to learn that the first big test on the industrial field in Germany for some time has gone to the workers. The German "brown" miners walked away with victory in their recent strike. An 11½ per cent wage increase was the outcome.

Other like wage adjustments upward are almost certain to come. Of course, there may be a hitch somewhere. Just at the time that the industrial masses in Deutschland begin again to feel their power, Mr. Gilbert, the American watchdog under the Dawes plan, cries that Germany is becoming extravagant. The increase of wages for office workers in the civil service is particularly deplored by the foreign country-creditors of the defeated Reich. When all is said and done, the Gilbert note means bluntly that the German workers are supposed to bear the further burden of the Dawes plan. That was well known for a long time by many folks, but it is instructive to be able to draw such an inference from the words of such a key man as Mr. Gilbert.

## UNEASY EUROPE

What we have been pointing to for a long time is now coming out on the front pages of the daily newspapers. There is a growing uneasiness in Europe. War is in the air. The statesmen say it will die down for the time, and they ought to know about it. Thomas Lamont, member of the House of Morgan, says that the statesmen are responsible for all war. If that is so, then surely every worker ought to refuse to fight for these intriguers.

France and Italy are at daggers' points on the Balkans. France and Yugoslavia have cooked up a little agreement. France said it was harmless enough, but Yugoslavia let the cat out of the bag. That government declared that it was for mutual alliance and protection. Now, France can get little protection from Yugoslavia. Therefore, the protection must be that which France will give the Balkan state.

Interestingly enough, it is Italy that Yugoslavia fears. The two countries have had a bitter time of it of late. At the same time, France and Italy are at decided odds on all sorts of questions. As a counter-move, Italy makes a treaty of defense and offense with Albania, Yugoslavia's neighbor. Mussolini is also seeking a friendly bond with

## USING THE AXE



To us the Giant Killer in the Jack and the Beanstalk cartoon by James in the St. Louis Star represents the intelligent worker who understands what war thrives on. More power to him!

Hungary, and that possibility has thrown Yugoslavia, Roumania and Czechoslovakia into a ferment of fear. These countries of the Little Entente not only have great chunks of former Hungarian territory, but also have been favorite allies of the French. It is a quarrelsome, jealous Europe that faces the birthday of the Prince of Peace.

## POLITICAL TRIUMPHS

The European political pendulum is swinging again toward the workers' groups. Norway's Labor Party has made big gains, partly as a revulsion against the autocratic policy pursued by the reactionary government. The Labor Party is now about on a par in strength with the government party. In England the municipal elections have registered big gains for Labor. In Czecho-Slovakia, Labor also made decided headway.

Naturally, these gains are due to a complexity of reasons. When the workers find themselves headed off in an industrial way, they naturally turn toward a political remedy. In Britain there is much dissatisfaction with the Baldwin government, outside the worker ranks. Many feel, as H. G. Wells has put it, that Baldwin's friendship with Fascist Italy and his cleavage with Russia are merely the preludes to further bloodshed in Europe. It is too soon after the World War to work up much enthusiasm for such projects, and there is in fact much sentiment against it. There is no great evidence as yet that the workers of Europe are anywhere near control of their governments.



# "Say It With Books"



## OUR DECLINING LIBERTIES

Dr. Ryan Warns of Attempt to Create Servile Masses

**W**E are in a peculiar period in American history. The American Empire was never richer or more powerful. Out of the war it has risen to a dominant position in world affairs. There is grave danger that its glory will be based, as the glory of other empires, on an underlying slave population.

It is to a part of this theme that Dr. John A. Ryan devotes himself in the first of a number of papers, now published in book form under the title, **DECLINING LIBERTY AND OTHER PAPERS** (Macmillan and Co., New York).

In a beautiful way, the author analyses recent court decisions in regard to economic liberty, and finds much wanting. In every important decision, he finds "the effect of the decision was to deprive the wage-earner of some positive economic liberty, some economic opportunity which the nullified statute had sought to provide. In the name of liberty of contract, the Court empowered the economically strong to oppress the economically weak." The Supreme Court, in **COPPAGE vs. KANSAS**, even annulled a statute "intended to promote the same liberty of action for the employee as the employer confessedly enjoys."

As to injunctions: "In the absence of statute law governing the activities incident to a strike, American courts have applied ancient and antiquated principles of the common law to the detriment of the laboring classes." It is even doubtful, in the minds of some legal authorities, that the courts will allow the legislatures to enact statutes doing away with injunctions in labor disputes. To that far pass has the Judgocracy gone in its blows at freedom.

As to political liberty, we see things moving in the same direction. While the injury to our civil liberty has not been as marked as that to our industrial freedom of action, it nevertheless is serious enough to demand attention. We should be zealous to see that "the theory of competition" in free speech is preserved. Truth and error should be permitted "to contend in the marketplace of discussion." We are in danger of not allowing such free competition in speech in this country, as the result of increasing threatening decisions.

What Dr. Ryan sees as imminent is the growth of a new feudalism—political and industrial this time. "The mind of the masses will have become servile." He argues that that may be the sort of society we want in America, "but it is not the kind that made and kept America free."

The warning is more than timely. We see ourselves in somewhat the same sort of era as that which greeted the anti-slavery forces. This time the Reactionary Interests are even more powerful. They are not merely masters of America, but to a degree of the world. There can only be one answer to the picture drawn so vividly in a few words by Dr. Ryan—to increase that agitation which won, against Supreme Court and Slave Power, in our previous crucial era.

Others of the papers printed in the book are of interest, though all of our readers may not agree with all of them. The chapters on fair valuation of utilities, "the Open Shop fraud" and injunctions in labor disputes are particularly fine. But the outstanding contribution to our information, contained in the volume, is the first paper, which gives the book its name. It presents **THE** problem before us for 1928.

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## A Labor Injunction Defeated

By KATHRYN EASTHAM

**T**HE use of the injunction as a means of repressing and nullifying the efforts of labor to increasing wages and securing decent working conditions, has become gradually more pronounced with every supreme court decision upholding it.

The resources of technical law have been astounding in industrial disputes: labor unions have been termed (under certain conditions) conspiracies. Boycotts have been held criminal, and pickets, by their very presence have been denounced as attempts "to intimidate and coerce". And this, in cases where the union has exercised only its accustomed and legal right in the use of boycott and picket.

With such a precedent of success with the employers' use of injunction, it is unusual for labor to defeat it by process of law. However a recent case in Portland, Oregon, was prosecuted with that unusual result. The success of this case does not demonstrate that the process of law is impartial—it suggests that the power of organized labor might exercise a restraining influence on the use of the injunction. I say, "suggests". That local conditions were a factor is, of course, true.

The case itself—outgrowth of a strike of some 200 Taxicab Drivers through their newly formed union, united the Taxicab Companies in a common injunction to restrain picketing, advertising of strike, boycotting, etc. Had not the injunction lent notoriety to the situation, the matter would probably have blown over with none of us the wiser for the deplorable conditions under which this very profitable upper-class luxury is provided. The proceedings brought to light the fact that the men were guaranteed no more than \$75 a month wages. Out of this, they were required to make an initial

expenditure of \$50 for driver's uniform, and other equipment. The hours were from eight in the morning until seven at night—and very often emergencies kept the men out all night, giving them a total of 36 hours without rest, since they had to report for work the following morning. There was no provision made for overtime work in the paycheck. If a driver, because of sickness or other necessity lost time on any other day than that allowed him, he was deprived of his \$75 wage guarantee, and had to work the remainder of the month on a commission basis. These are only a few of the drivers' complaints. That questionable methods of adding to this meagre wage were forced upon them, besides the degrading reliance upon tips, no one denies.

After former attempts to organize this business had been tried and failed, the drivers quietly formed a union and called their strike. A picket was placed at each loading zone, the "Unfair" banner used, besides cards stating that a strike was on. In no way did these customary strike methods overstep their legal boundary. However, an injunction was secured by the Taxicab Companies which prohibited the use of a picket, or a banner, or printed matter—and which further prevented the former drivers from addressing the non-union drivers of the cabs. This injunction did not differ in nature from other injunctions used in similar instances. It was defeated on the technical argument that the drivers were striking for decent wages and hours, and not for recognition of the union. Had they demanded that their union be recognized, they would have lost on the grounds of forming a conspiracy to obstruct business. Odd how mutable the factors constituting legality can become.

However, let us be thankful for small victories. More of such events would point to a progressive and growing labor movement.

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# FRAME--UP!

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The Labor Spy is in the Spotlight Today.  
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# FRAME--UP!

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